SECTION OF LA HARPE MANUSCRIPT MAP, CIRCA 1720

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NATIVE VILLAGES AND VILLAGE SITES EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI

BY

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SIR: I have the honor to transmit the accompanying manuscript, entitled "Native Villages and Village Sites East of the Mississippi," by David I. Bushnell, jr., and to recommend its publication, subject to your approval, as Bulletin 69 of this Bureau.

Very respectfully,

J. WALTER FEWKES,
Chief.

DR. CHARLES D. WALCOTT,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

PREFACE

Considering the present condition of Eastern United States, with its great population and wealth, its many cities and industrial centers, wide fields and orchards, all connected by a network of many thousands of miles of railways, it is difficult to visualize the same region as it was a short time ago—a vast wilderness covered by virgin forests, with scattered camps and villages of native tribes standing near the water courses, crossed by narrow trails which often led for long distances over mountain, plain, and valley. Such was the nature of the country traversed by the Spaniards during the years 1539 and 1540, colonized by the English in 1607 and 1620, and explored by the French in 1673. But now all is changed. Many tribes have become extinct and few remain; their towns have disappeared, though often it is possible to identify the sites where once they stood. Fortunately the early explorers and others left records of their journeys, and described the villages reached in their travels through the wilderness. Now many such references to the widely scattered towns have been brought together, and the attempt has been made to present them in such a manner as will reveal the country as it was before the encroachment of European settlements.

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NATIVE VILLAGES AND VILLAGE SITES EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI

By David I. Bushnell, Jr.

I. THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

Eastern United States, that part of the country extending eastward from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, when first traversed by Europeans was the home of many tribes, speaking different languages, having various manners and customs unlike one another, and often the avowed enemies of their neighbors. The combined population of the many tribes formerly living within this wide area has been estimated by Mr. James Mooney to have been about 280,000, scattered, although having many distinct centers more thickly peopled than others. But before referring to the distribution of the tribes, or rather groups of tribes, speaking the same language, we should consider the physiographical features of this part of America, as later it will be shown how great an influence the natural environments exerted on the development of certain customs of the people in different sections of the country, and how often rivers and mountains served as boundaries between the lands claimed by various tribes.

Considering eastern United States as a whole, five distinct geographic divisions are suggested:

First, eastward from the Hudson, including entire New England, having a rough and rocky surface, with many streams flowing into the Atlantic, and in the northern part, the present State of Maine, innumerable lakes, some of which are of great size. Forests of pine, spruce, and hemlock covered a large part of this region. The climate was severe, with long winters, heavy snows, and much frost.

Second, the coastal plain and piedmont area bordering on the Atlantic and extending to the foothills of the Alleghenies, having in the southern portion wide expanses of low swamp lands, and crossed by many streams taking their rise in the mountains to the westward.

Third, the Alleghenies, attaining their greatest elevation in North Carolina, with many rich and fertile valleys between the long ridges which extend, in a general course, toward the northeast. The range forms the divide between the waters flowing into the Atlantic and those reaching the Mississippi.

Fourth, the rich prairie lands and hilly country lying west of the mountains and continuing to the Mississippi, divided transversely

by the valley of the Ohio, with numerous lesser streams, and many lakes in the northern parts. The river bottoms were well wooded, springs of salt water were often encountered, and the many natural products made use of by the Indians were plentifully and widely distributed.

Fifth, the lowlands of the South, extending eastward from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, and including the peninsula of Florida. Forests of pine covered much of the surface and the dense, semitropical vegetation of central and southern Florida was never touched by frost. Many rivers, some of considerable size, are encountered within this region, with swamps and bayous near the coast.

Such was the nature of the country. With game and wild fowl in abundance, the lakes and streams teeming with fish, while oysters and other mollusks were easily gathered in vast quantities along the seacoast and many varieties of wild fruits grew on mountain and plain, food was usually plentiful and easily secured by the native tribes. Added to the natural supply were the products of the gardens of the sedentary people, by whom great quantities of corn and lesser amounts of vegetables were raised, and often preserved for future use.

The numerous tribes encountered by the early explorers and colonists in eastern United States belonged to several linguistic groups, and with few exceptions the tribes continued to occupy their respective domains from the earliest times until forced westward or until they fell before the encroachment of European, and later of American, settlements.

New England was the home of many tribes, some small, others larger, all of which belonged to the great Algonquian family, speaking a language understood by all but with certain dialectic variations. Of these some were on the coast occupying small villages near the mouths of the many rivers; others were in the interior. But it is quite evident many coast sites were occupied only during certain seasons of the year; at other times the protection of the forests would be sought. Among the New England tribes were many whose names were often mentioned in the history of the colonies, and have since been perpetuated by applying them to the streams near which they once lived. Far north was the Abnaki group, including the Micmac, Passamaquoddy, and Penobscot, of Maine, and adjoining them on the south the Massachuset, Wampanoag, Narraganset, Mohegan, and Pequot. The last two were originally one people, but later became divided. In 1637 the Pequot were attacked by the English and their strength as a tribe was broken, and from that time until the close of King Philip's War the Narraganset remained the most powerful tribe of southern New England, but on December

19, 1675, they suffered a disastrous defeat and lost more than 1,000 in killed and missing. Those who escaped sought refuge among other tribes. Many small kindred tribes lived south of the St. Lawrence River, while extending southward from near the lower extremity of Lake Champlain, on both banks of the Hudson, were the Mahican. On the east bank of the stream they joined the Wappinger near the present Poughkeepsie, and on the opposite side merged with the Munsee in the vicinity of Catskill Creek. Eastward they occupied the upper portion of the valley of the Housatonic in western Massachusetts. The Manhattan, a tribe belonging to the Wappinger confederacy, gave the name to the island where once they had several small settlements. Manhattan signifies the Island of Hills. The Munsee, already mentioned, was one of the three principal tribes of the Delaware or Lenape, with whom Penn concluded the first treaty in 1682 at their village of Shackamaxon, on the site of Germantown, a suburb of Philadelphia.

Southward other Algonquian tribes dominated the coast to the vicinity of the Neuse, in the present State of North Carolina, about the southernmost members of this great linguistic family being the people of Roanoak, on the island of Wococon, discovered in the summer of 1584 by the first expedition sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh.

The western Algonquian group claimed and occupied the greater parts of the present States of Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan, and later, parts of Ohio. The more important of these were the Menominee of northeastern Wisconsin; the Sauk and Fox, who were probably first encountered on the lower Michigan peninsula and later removed to the westward of Lake Michigan; the Peoria, Kaskaskia, Michigamea, Cahokia, and Tamaroa, five tribes constituting the loosely formed Illinois confederacy; the Miami group; and the widely scattered Shawnee.

While the eastern Algonquian appear to have been sedentary, and to have remained for many generations in a given section, the tribes of the west seemed to have developed a great movement about the time of the discovery of their country by the French which resulted in many removing their villages to distant localities. The Peoria were discovered by Marquette early in the summer of 1673 occupying a large village on the right bank of the Mississippi near the mouth of the Des Moines River. Two months later they were found living on the banks of the Illinois. The Kaskaskia occupied the great town of Pontdalamia which stood on the bank of the Illinois in the present county of La Salle, and was visited by the French late in 1679. The village was probably occupied until 1703, when the Kaskaskia moved southward and settled near the mouth of the stream which now bears their name, in Randolph County, Illinois, a few miles below the future

site of Fort Chartres, planned and erected by the French in 1720 and in 1756 rebuilt and greatly strengthened, later to be destroyed by the encroachment of the waters of the Mississippi. Early in February, 1682, La Salle reached "the Village of the *Tamaoas*, where we met with no body at all, the Savages being retired into the Woods to Winter." (Tonti, (1), p. 77.) This was on the left or east bank of the Mississippi, 10 leagues below the mouth of the Illinois and opposite the present city of St. Louis. In the autumn of 1721 another French explorer, Père Charlevoix, while passing down the Mississippi, reached the same locality and there remained over night at the "village of the *Caoquias* and the *Tamarouas*, two Illinois tribes which have been united." (Charlevoix, (1), II, p. 218.) The village was on the small creek which now bears the name of the first of the tribes, and which is likewise perpetuated by having been applied to the great mound a few miles distant from the site of the ancient settlement.

The Illinois tribes were closely connected linguistically with the Ojibway, while quite distinct were the Shawnee and the allied Sauk and Fox, who spoke dialects with slight variations, so similar as to indicate their having been closely associated or virtually having lived together for some generations. When first known to the French, the Fox were evidently living on the lower Michigan peninsula, east of Lake Michigan. The majority of the Shawnee were then south of the Ohio, their principal settlement being in the vicinity of the present city of Nashville, Tenn. The time or cause of their removal southward can not be determined, although it may have been forced by the aggressiveness of the Neutrals, who, during the first part of the seventeenth century and probably earlier, were engaged in attacking the Algonquian tribes to the westward of their territory. But in 1651 the Neutrals in turn suffered a crushing defeat by the Iroquois. From their new home in the valley of the Cumberland one or more bands of the Shawnee appear to have moved eastward, probably passing south of the Cherokee, and thus reaching the valley of the Savannah, where they established themselves in several small villages But within a generation some had again turned westward and settled for a few years on the Chattahoochee, near the Uchee town. Here, however, their stay was of short duration and they soon removed to the Tallapoosa, probably to be near the French post at Fort Toulouse. Others who had not joined in this movement from the Savannah soon began moving northward along the foot of the mountains. This movement was evidently hastened by the trouble which culminated in the "Yamasee War," in 1715. Passing through the Carolinas, they reached the valley of Virginia, where they established several small villages, with other settlements north of the Potomac. Soon becoming associated with remnants of the Delaware

and others, they crossed the mountains and the Ohio and settled within the future State of Ohio. Here they were joined by the Shawnee from the Cumberland, who had been compelled, by reason of the acts of the Chickasaw and Cherokee, to abandon their villages and hunting grounds in central Tennessee and to seek a home beyond the Ohio. The movement from the south began about the year 1714 and was hastened by the pressure exerted by the neighboring tribes. And thus the tribe was again united.

The valley of the Neuse, in central North Carolina, was the early home of Iroquoian tribes, of which the Tuscarora was the most important. The Coree on the coast may have been of this linguistic group. The Tuscarora was the most powerful tribe between the sea and the mountains, and in the year 1708 had 15 towns and 1,200 warriors. But soon the encroachment of European settlements caused them and their allies to revolt and attack the colonists. This resulted in the "Tuscarora War," which began in 1711, and ultimately caused many of the tribe to leave the colony and go north among their kindred of the Five Nations, which after the consolidation became the Six Nations—the League of the Iroquois. These closely confederated Iroquoian tribes, whose home since earliest historic times has been in the central and western parts of the present State of New York, although at times dominating a much wider region, spoke a language quite distinct from that of their Algonquian neighbors, by whom they were practically surrounded. The five nations were the Mohawk, Cayuga, Oneida, Onondaga, and Seneca, and in 1722 the Tuscarora became the sixth nation. The league was probably formed during the latter part of the sixteenth century when they were forced to unite for mutual protection against the neighboring tribes. Soon the Dutch arrived on the Hudson, and with firearms obtained from the traders the power of the Iroquois was greatly increased, and they became feared by all as far west as the distant Mississippi.

The Cherokee, the most important of the detached Iroquoian tribes, claimed and occupied the rough region of the southern Alleghenies. The mountains of western North and South Carolina, of southwestern Virginia, eastern Kentucky and Tennessee, and northern Georgia, were occupied by them from the earliest historic times. Other tribes of this linguistic family were the Nottoway and Meherrin of southeastern Virginia; the Susquehanna or Conestoga, first encountered by a party of the Jamestown colonists under Capt. John Smith during the summer of 1608, near the head of Chesapeake Bay, their villages being located on the banks of the stream which now bears their tribal name; the Erie or Cat nation, who lived south of Lake Erie, but who early vanished from history; the Huron, later known as the Wyandot, and others.

The South, including the greater part of Mississippi and Alabama and sections of South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Florida, was occupied or dominated by various tribes belonging to the Muskhogean linguistic group. The most important of these were the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and the many small tribes which served to form the Creek confederacy.

The Choctaw, which probably included many small related tribes, when encountered by the Spaniards in 1540, evidently occupied central and southern Mississippi, reaching to the shore of Lake Pontchartrain on the south and to and beyond the Tombigbee River on the east. The Chickasaw were discovered the same year in the region about the headwaters of the Yazoo and Tombigbee Rivers, probably in the present Union and Pontotoc Counties, Mississippi, where they continued to dwell for several centuries. They may at this time have reached to the Tennessee or beyond. The two tribes just mentioned, the Choctaw and the Chickasaw, were closely related, they spoke the same language and had similar customs, but were ever enemies. Their natural environment had much to do with their mode of living, for, while the former, occupying the low, rather level country, were agriculturists, the latter, living in a broken, hilly region, were more expert hunters, and the wild game so plentiful and so easily obtained furnished much of their food.

The Creek confederacy was made up of many small tribes forming two quite distinct groups of towns. The first group, later known as the Upper Creeks, included many villages in the valleys of the Coosa and Tallapoosa. The principal settlements were in the vicinity of the old French post, near the junction of the two streams. The second group, occupying both banks of the middle and lower reaches of the Chattahoochee, were later designated the Lower Creeks. The league appears to have had its beginning in prehistoric times, before the coming of De Soto in 1540, although it was greatly augmented and strengthened in later times, when Shawnee, Yuchi, and Natchez were admitted.

The Yamasi, whose early home was in central Georgia away from the coast, but who in 1687 revolted against Spanish rule and fled northward across the Savannah, also belonged to this linguistic family; likewise the Natchez, whose connection, however, was less clearly defined. The latter, one of the most interesting and remarkable tribes of the Mississippi Valley, occupied a large town a few miles distant from the present city of Natchez, Mississippi, with several small villages in the vicinity. During the early years of the eighteenth century they were at war with the French, which terminated in a great defeat of the Natchez, who were forced to abandon their ancient territory, and in 1730 the remnants of the tribe had scattered, some crossing the Mississippi and others moving as far eastward as South

Carolina. It now appears the Guale, undoubtedly a Muskhogean tribe, were, about the beginning of the sixteenth century, the occupants of the islands lying off the coast of Georgia, and consequently were the people first met by the early Spanish explorers.

Northern Florida was the early home of a group of tribes now designated the Timucuan, of which, unfortunately, very little is known. They were first encountered by Ponce de Leon in 1513 near the site of the present city of St. Augustine, and were later mentioned by other Spanish leaders. They were probably the builders of the majority of the ancient mounds standing in northern and central Florida, some of which were reared after the coming of the Europeans. The name of the group is derived from that of one of the principal tribes who occupied the eastern-central part of the territory, in the vicinity of St. Augustine and extending along the middle portion of the St. John River. Other tribes of this linguistic family lived on the Gulf coast of the peninsula from Tampa Bay northward to the Ocilla River, there reaching the southern Muskhogean tribes, the Apalachee. The latter when first met by the Spaniards in 1528 was an important and numerous people and so continued until the close of the following century. In the year 1703 their country was invaded by the expedition led by Governor Moore, of Carolina, their lands and villages were laid waste, many were killed, and still more were led into slavery, while those who escaped scattered among the neighboring peoples. Soon after this war many from the lower Creek towns on the Flint and Chattahoochee moved into Florida, and became the Seminole, the "Runaway," of later days, their numbers being augmented from time to time by others from the Creek towns.

Another important stock remains to be mentioned, and there is reason to believe it was once far more numerous and powerful in the region east of the Mississippi than when it first appeared in history. When Europeans entered the southern part of the present State of Ohio they found it destitute of a fixed population. This rich and fertile section of the valley of the Ohio, on both sides of the river, had been abandoned by its former occupants and now served as a hunting ground for the neighboring tribes. It was crossed by several important trails over which war parties from the surrounding tribes passed and repassed in their journeys to and beyond the Ohio. But it is evident the region had only recently been the home of a comparatively numerous people, as shown by the many village sites and cemeteries, mounds, and other earthworks, encountered in all parts of the valley. There is a well-established legend among certain Siouan tribes living at the present time far west of the Mississippi, of their migration down the valley of the Ohio from the east. When the mouth of that river was reached some went down the Mississippi and settled on the west bank within the present State of Arkansas.

These were the Quapaw, whose name signifies *downstream people.* Others went up the Mississippi, among them the Omaha, which may be translated *those going against the wind or current.* Evidently the Siouan tribes formerly lived in that part of the Ohio Valley found vacant when first entered by the whites, and they were probably the builders of the great earthworks in the form of circles, squares, and many of complicated designs, which are the most remarkable of the many ancient works existing east of the Mississippi.

Although the great body of the Siouan people had left the eastern country before the coming of Europeans, yet some small groups of this linguistic family remained. These were the Catawba, Cheraw, Saponi, and Tutelo, of southern Virginia and central North and South Carolina. The Waccamaw, on the coast north of Charleston, south of the Cape Fear Indians of North Carolina, were Siouan, and the Congaree and Santee, on streams bearing their tribal names, were the southernmost members of this stock. The chief of the latter is said to have had absolute power over his people, an unusual state among the Indians of North America. The Monacan confederacy of piedmont Virginia undoubtedly belonged to this stock, their chief town being Rasawek, at the junction of the James and Rivanna, in Fluvanna County, Virginia. Adjoining them on the north were other tribes, evidently Siouan, grouped under the name Manahoac as first applied by Capt. John Smith three centuries and more ago. The Siouan tribes of piedmont Virginia were the avowed enemies of the Algonquians, or Powhatan confederacy of the tidewater region, and tribal boundaries were seldom more clearly defined than that between these two groups. It extended almost due north from the falls of the Appomattox, now the site of Petersburg, crossing the James just above the falls, now Richmond, and continuing northward.

Far distant from the preceding were the Biloxi on the Gulf coast and the Ofo on the lower Yazoo River, both in the present State of Mississippi. These were detached Siouan tribes, speaking a dialect quite similar to that of the Tutelo and Saponi of Virginia, but differing from that of the Catawba, although a certain old tradition would seem to connect them with the latter. (Schoolcraft, (1), III, p. 293.) The Winnebago, first encountered by Nicollet in 1634 at their villages on the shore of Green Bay, Wisconsin, were likewise Siouan, at that time neighbors of Algonquian tribes, with whom they had certain customs in common, although speaking a distinct language.

The Uchean family may formerly have been quite numerous and powerful, although since its discovery it has evidently been represented by a single tribe. They appear to have been the Chisca of the De Soto narratives and to have lived beyond the mountains, probably north of the Cherokee. Later they moved southeast to the valley of the Savannah, and early in the eighteenth century some went to

the Chattahoochee, where they became a part of the Creek confederacy. Their town, near the mouth of Uchee Creek, in the present Russell County, Alabama, became one of the most important of the league. Others later settled with the Shawnee among the Upper Creek.

One linguistic family remains to be mentioned, the Tunican, who when first known to history lived near the Mississippi on the lower reaches of the Yazoo, in the present State of Mississippi. They were allied with other small tribes farther south and there is reason to suppose they were formerly more numerous and powerful. Later they crossed the Mississippi and at different times occupied several sites in Louisiana.

From this brief sketch it will be understood the native tribes who occupied the vast country extending eastward from the Mississippi to the Atlantic are recognized as having belonged to seven distinct linguistic families, to which number others may be added when more is known concerning the aborigines of southern Florida. Necessarily many of the lesser tribes have not been mentioned, but the attempt has been made to locate the principal groups and to indicate their positions as they were first encountered by Europeans. Of the seven groups the Algonquian was the most numerous, followed by the Muskhogean, Iroquoian, Siouan, Timucuan, Uchean, and Tunican, and although the last two may not have numbered more than 1,000 each the others were far more numerous, forming, as already stated, a combined population east of the Mississippi approximating 280,000. Other Algonquian, Siouan, and Tunican tribes lived west of the Mississippi and are, consequently, not here considered.

The languages of the seven groups differed to such a degree that one would not have been intelligible to the other, and often within the same linguistic family the various tribes spoke radically different dialects. Thus with such a diversity of languages, a great range of climatic conditions, with mountains and prairies, swamps and lakes occurring in widely separated parts of the region, the native tribes of this part of North America developed distinct customs influenced by their natural conditions and environments. And seldom were these variations more pronounced than in the forms of dwellings and other structures erected by the different tribes, as will be shown in the following pages.

II. VILLAGES AND VILLAGE SITES

The term "village site," as used in the present work, applies to all places, large or small, where traces of aboriginal habitations have been discovered. Many have been identified by name, but the great majority will ever remain unknown, and in this connection it will be

of interest to trace the existence of native settlements in different parts of the country, and to show how seldom the amount of material encountered on a site is indicative of the extent or importance of the ancient village.

Early maps show the positions of native villages, and often it is possible to locate the ancient sites, usually by following the water courses near which they stood. A manuscript map of the greatest interest is contained in the La Harpe manuscript, now in the Library of Congress at Washington. This shows in part the central and southern portions of the Mississippi Valley as known to the French about the year 1720, with the scattered towns of the native tribes. A section of the map is now for the first time reproduced in plate 1.

It is a well-established fact that before the coming of Europeans the aborigines, in many parts of the country, occupied, and had occupied for many generations, their ancient sites. This alone would have made possible the erection of the earthworks of Ohio and the great mounds of the South and West, as no migratory people could have been the builders of the works which undoubtedly required much time to complete. Many village sites are traceable over a wide area and would, at first glance, seem to indicate the presence of a rather large population, but in reality the site may have been occupied by a small number of habitations during a comparatively long period. Evidences of occupancy are often found extending for several miles along the banks of streams, while probably not more than a few hundred yards of the area was occupied at a given time.

The chosen spots were always near a supply of fresh water; either springs of sufficient size, near streams, or on the shores of lakes. Along the water courses the larger settlements appear to have been at the junction of two streams, thus making them more accessible with canoes, and also adding to the sources of the necessary supply of food. It is quite probable that settlements, large or small, were at some time located at or near the mouths of a great majority of the numerous streams. Evidences of such villages are, in many instances, yet discernible, but other sites have been washed away, or covered by deposits of alluvium.

When Champlain explored the coast of New England, during the first years of the seventeenth century, he visited many small villages on the shores of bays and inlets scattered along the rugged coast. During July, 1605, the expedition reached the mouth of the Saco, in the present York County, Maine, and there discovered a small settlement, of which they wrote:

"The savages dwell permanently in this place, and have a large cabin surrounded by palisades made of rather large trees placed by the side of each other, in which they take refuge when their enemies

make war upon them. They cover their cabins with oak bark." (Champlain, (2), II, pp. 63–67.)

This was evidently a typical coast settlement and outside the palisade were some scattered wigwams, and the small gardens where corn, beans, and other vegetables were raised. A manuscript dating from the early part of the seventeenth century, now in the British Museum, gives the native names of the principal streams of New England flowing into the Atlantic, and also the names of the chiefs then occupying their banks. The Saco was known as the *Sawaquatock*, "and there did Dwell Agemohock" (Bushnell, (1), p. 236), probably at the village mentioned by Champlain. This may have been a typical coast settlement and as it was protected by palisades was probably a permanent settlement, as mentioned in the narrative. In recent years many objects of Indian origin have been found on the summit of a rocky cliff on the western side of the mouth of the Saco, evidently marking the site of the cluster of wigwams seen by the French in the summer of 1605. But it is not usually possible to picture so vividly the structures which at one time occupied the numerous sites, where implements of stone, fragments of pottery, broken shells and bones, and usually ashes and charcoal, indicate the position of some ancient village.

Nearly a century before Champlain's first visit to the coast of New England, then an unexplored wilderness, Verrazzano, in 1524, passed northward along the Atlantic coast. The expedition stopped at many places and visited widely separated villages, one of which appears to have been at some point near the eastern end of Long Island. This was a settlement of an Algonquian tribe and may have been a village of the Shinnecock near Montauk Point. It was described thus:

"We saw their houses made in circular or round forme 10 or 12 paces in compass, made with halfe circles of timber, separate one from another without any order of building, covered with mattes of straw wrought cunningly together, which save them from wind and raine. . . . The father and the whole family dwell together in one house in great number: in some of them we saw 25 or 30 persons." (Verrazzano, (1), p. 299.)

The "halfe circles of timber," mentioned here, probably refer to the circular, dome-shaped wigwams, formed by bending and fastening branches or small saplings, and covering the frame thus made with mats or pieces of bark, characteristic of the Algonquian tribes. Although many early writers in New England mentioned and described the habitations of the native tribes, the most interesting and comprehensive account may be gathered from that quaint work prepared by the settler of Providence and first printed in the year 1643.

He treats principally of the Narraganset, in whose country "a man shall come to many townes, some bigger, some lesser, it may be a dozen in 20 miles travell." Their habitations (p. 47) were formed of "long poles which the men get and fix, and then the women cover the house with mats, and line them with embroidered mats which the women make, and call them *Mannotaubana*, or *Hangings*." The houses were 14 to 16 feet in diameter and were occupied by two families. Larger structures were occupied by a greater number of persons, and (p. 51)—

"Most commonly there houses were open, their doore is a hanging *Mat* which being lift up, falls downe of itselfe; yet many of them get English boards and nails, and make artificiall doores and bolts themselves, and others make slighter doores of *Burch* or *Chesnut* barke, which they make fast with a cord in the night time, or when they go out of town, and then the last (that makes fast) goes out at the Chimney, which is a large opening in the middle of their house, called: Wunnauchicómock."

Evidently the Narraganset did not occupy permanent villages, although it may have been their custom to return and occupy certain sites during the same season of succeeding years, and it is interesting to trace their movements through the year (pp. 56–57)—

"From thick warme vallies, where they winter, they remove a little neerer to their Summer fields; when 'tis warme Spring, then they remove to their fields, where they plant Corne. In middle of Summer, because of the abundance of Fleas, which the dust of the house breeds, they will flie and remove on a sudden from one part of their field to a fresh place. And sometimes having fields a mile or two, or many miles asunder, when the worke of one field is over, they remove house to the other: If death fall in amongst them, they presently remove to a fresh place: If an enemie approach they remove to a Thicket, or Swampe, unless they have some fort to remove unto. Sometimes they remove to a hunting house in the end of the yeare, and forsake it not until Snow be thick and then will travell, Men women and children, thorow the snow, thirtie, yea, fiftie or sixtie miles; but their great remove is from their Summer fields to warme and thicke woodie bottomes where they winter: They are quicke; in halfe a day, yea, sometimes at few houres warning to be gone and the house is up elsewhere, especially, if they have stakes readie pitcht for their Mats . . . The men make the poles or stakes, but the women make and set up, take downe, order and carry the Mats and householdstuffe."

They hunted much and (p. 141)—

"They hunt by Traps of severall sorts, to which purpose after they have observed, in spring time and Summer, the haunt of the Deere,

then about Harvest, they goe ten or twentie together, and sometimes more, and withall (if it be not too farre) wives and children also, where they build up little hunting houses of Barks and Rushes (not comparable to their dwelling houses) and so each man takes his bounds of two, three, or foure miles, where he sets thirty, forty or fifty Traps."

And Williams mentions two other structures of a more temporary nature than the dwellings (p. 146):

"Puttuckquapuonck. This Arbour or Play house is made of long poles set in the Earth, four square, sixteen or twenty foot high, on which they hang great store of their stringed money, have great staking towne against towne, and two chosen out of the rest by course to play the Game at this kind of Dice in the midst of all their abettors."

After referring to several ceremonies he continued:

"But their chiefest Idoll of all for sport and game, is (if their land be at peace) toward Harvest, when they set up a long house called Qunnekamuck, which signifies Long house, sometimes an hundred sometimes two hundred foot long, upon a plaine neere the Court (which they call Kitteickauick) where many thousands, men and Women meet, where he that goes in danceth in the sight of all the rest. . . ." (Williams (1)).

The latter structure, a long and evidently open arbor, closely resembled the Mide lodge of the Ojibway, which was solely a place for holding the rites connected with the Mide, and consequently should not be confused with the long communal dwelling houses of the Iroquois. As both the Ojibway and Narraganset were Algonquian tribes it is possible their long ceremonial structures had a common and quite ancient origin.

The movement about from place to place by a comparatively small number of persons, as mentioned by Williams, easily accounts for the many small camp or village sites discovered in all parts of the land, and their return from time to time to the same site or its vicinity would, in after years, cause it to appear as having once been occupied by a large group of wigwams—an extensive village. Thus an area which from surface indications appears to have been rather thickly peopled, may, in reality, have been the home of a small number of families who were ever moving from one place to another, as the requirements of the seasons made necessary.

Evidently all the native dwellings of southern New England were quite similar, although they may have differed in covering. Early in September, 1606, the French reached Port Fortune, the present Chatham harbor, the eastern point of Barnstable County, Massachusetts. Here they found "some five to six hundred savages," and

on Champlain's map wigwams and gardens are indicated at many different places about the shore of the bay. And it was said:

"Their dwellings are separate from each other, according to the land which each occupies. They are large, of a circular shape, and covered with thatch made of grasses or the husks of Indian corn" (Champlain, (2), II, pp. 120–130.)

Some 10 years after the preceding, the Jesuit, Père Biard, was among the native tribes of New France and prepared notes on the customs of the people. He wrote principally of the Micmac and Malecite, of the eastern part of the present State of Maine and the adjacent provinces, and when describing their habitations said:

"Arrived at a certain place, the first thing they do is to build a fire and arrange their camp, which they have finished in an hour or two; often in half an hour. The women go to the woods and bring back some poles which are stuck into the ground in a circle around the fire, and at the top are interlaced, in the form of a pyramid, so that they come together directly over the fire, for there is the chimney. Upon the poles they throw some skins, matting or bark. At the foot of the poles, under the skins, they put their baggage. All the space around the fire is strewn with leaves of the fir tree, so they will not feel the dampness of the ground; over these leaves are often thrown some mats, or sealskins as soft as velvet; upon this they stretch themselves around the fire with their heads resting upon their baggage; And, what no one would believe, they are very warm in there around that little fire, even in the greatest rigors of the Winter. They do not camp except near some good water, and in an attractive location. In Summer the shape of their houses is changed; for then they are broad and long, that they may have more air; then they nearly always cover them with bark, or mats made of tender reeds, finer and more delicate than ours made of straw, and so skillfully woven, that when they are hung up the water runs along their surface without penetrating them." (Biard, (1), p. 77.)

And here follows an interesting account of their ways and means of gathering food, with different fish and game during the changing seasons of the year.

The dwellings encountered by the Pilgrims on Cape Cod, when they reached that shore early in November, 1620, "were made with long young Sapling Trees, bended and both ends stuck into the ground: they were made round, like unto an Arbour . . . The houses were double matted, for as they were matted without, so were they within, with new & fairer matts. In the houses we found wooden Boules, Trayes & Dishes, Earthen Pots, Handbaskets made of Crab shells wrought together . . ." (Mourt, (1), p. 18.)

Mats served to cover the small entrance, and others were used to close the opening left in the top for the smoke to pass out, the fire being kindled on the ground within the lodge. Many pits (caches) filled with corn and other supplies were discovered in the vicinity of the dwellings, and a large quantity of the corn was taken by the English—a food new to them.

This appears to have been the most usual form of habitation of the Indians of New England, although in the extreme northern part, among the lakes of Maine, where the birch attained a large size and grew in great plenty, the lodge covered with strips of birch bark was known and used. About the close of the year 1689 Père Sébastien Rasles went from Quebec and settled among the Abnaki, in a village not far distant, which he thus described:

"This village was inhabitated by two hundred Savages, nearly all of whom were Christians. Their cabins were ranged almost like houses in cities; an enclosure of high and closely-set stakes formed a sort of wall, which protected them from incursions of their enemies. Their cabins are very quickly set up; they plant their poles, which are joined at the top, and cover them with large sheets of bark. The fire is made in the middle of the cabin; they spread all around it mats of rushes, upon which they sit during the day and take their rest during the night." (Rasles, (1), p. 135.)

This clearly refers to a palisaded village, the dwellings of conical form covered with bark which, although not so mentioned, was undoubtedly taken from the birch. Thus in New England, among the eastern Algonquian tribes, as among the related tribes of the upper Mississippi Valley, the kind of material available for the construction of a habitation usually determined the type of structure erected, and while the conical birch bark covered wigwam was used in the northern part of their country, only the dome-shaped mat-covered dwelling was encountered farther south. (Pl. 2.)

Père Rasles (op. cit., p. 217) later referred to the manner in which the Abnaki would sleep when on a journey away from their villages. He wrote:

"The Savages sleep uncovered in the open fields, if it do not rain; if it rain or snow, they cover themselves with sheets of bark, which they carry with them, and which are rolled up like cloth."

Quite similar to this, as will be shown on a subsequent page, was Bartram's description of the shelter provided for him by his Indian guides during the journey to Onondaga in the summer of 1743. The Abnaki moved from place to place during the year, as did others, often seeking food on the coast between the planting and the harvesting of their corn; their villages and gardens being inland away from the sea.

The preceding quotations describe the native dwelling encountered by the colonists who reached New England during the first half of the seventeenth century. They were the small dome-shaped mat or bark covered structure, usually constructed to accommodate one family, seldom more, but in later years a larger type of dwelling appears to have been built. Nevertheless it is often quite difficult to understand the exact meaning of the early narratives, and some who wrote during the first years of the century may have seen long, extended dwellings standing in the various native villages along the coast. Daniel Gookin, writing from "*Cambridge*, in N. E. Dec. 7th, 1674," gave a general account of the dwellings of the New England Indians as they were at that time. He said:

"Their houses, or wigwams, are built with small poles fixed in the ground, bent and fastened together with barks of trees oval or arbour-wise on the top. The best sort of their houses are covered very neatly, tight, and warm, with barks of trees, slipped from their bodies, at such seasons when the sap is up; and made into great flakes with pressures of weighty timbers, when they are green; and so becoming dry, they will retain a form suitable for the use they prepare them for. The meaner sort or wigwams are covered with mats, they make of a kind of bulrush, which are also indifferent tight and warm, but not so good as the former. These houses they make of several sizes, according to their activity and ability; some twenty, some forty feet long, and broad. Some I have seen of sixty or a hundred feet long, and thirty feet broad. In the smaller sort they make a fire in the centre of the house; and have a lower hole on the top of the house, to let out the smoke. They keep the door into the wigwams always shut, by a mat falling thereon, as people go in and out. This they do to prevent air coming in, which will cause much smoke in every windy weather. If the smoke beat down at the lower hole, they hang a little mat in the way of a skreen, on the top of the house, which they can with a cord turn to the windward side, which prevents the smoke. In the greater houses they make two, three, or four fires, at a distance one from another, for the better accommodation of the people belonging to it. I have often lodged in their wigwams; and have found them as warm as the best English houses. In their wigwams they make a kind of couch or mattresses, firm and strong, raised about a foot high from the earth; first covered with boards that they split out of trees; and upon the boards they spread mats generally, and some times bear skins and deer skins. They are large enough for three or four persons to lodge upon: and one may either draw nearer or keep at a more distance from the heat of the fire, as they please, for their mattresses are six or eight feet broad." (Gookin, (1), pp. 149–150.)

In many respects this general account confirms statements of the earlier writers, as well as giving details, and recording information not to be found in the older works. It is interesting to learn the manner in which large pieces of bark were prepared to serve over the lodge frame, and evidently bark was considered a much better covering than mats made of rushes. The narrative is of unusual interest, as it was prepared at a time when great changes were about to occur in the manners and conditions of the New England Indians. Soon was to begin the war with the southern tribes, King Philip's War, so famed in history.

Western Massachusetts was the home of the Housatonic or River Indians, later known as the Stockbridges. In the year 1736 several groups were settled on a tract of land set apart for their use by the Colonial government, the lands extending down the valley of the Housatonic, reaching to the present Great Barrington and neighboring villages. A general view of the valley, in the southern part of the tract, is given in plate 3, *b*. The Housatonic, taken from an ancient village site on the right bank about 4 miles below Great Barrington, is shown in plate 3, *a*. These Indians belonged to the Mahican confederacy, tribes which, as already mentioned, occupied the upper Hudson valley and the adjacent country eastward. The region, rough and mountainous, remained thinly peopled long after other parts of New England were rather thickly populated. In the spring of 1743 David Brainerd, "A missionary among the *Indians*," went to them. He arrived on the first day of April "at a Place called by them *Kaunaumeek* in the County of *Albany*, near about twenty Miles distant from the City Eastward. The Place . . . was twenty Miles distant from any English Inhabitants . . . and also being too far distant from the Indians I therefor resolv'd to remove, and live with or near the *Indians* . . . Accordingly I removed soon after; and, for a Time, liv'd with them in one of their *Wigwams*." (Pemberton, (1), pp. 25–26.)

In describing the habitations of these Indians a few years later it was said:

"A *Wigwam* is an *Indian House*, in building of which they take small flixible Poles and stick them into the Ground, round such a space as they intend for the Bigness of their House, whether greater or less: those Poles they bend from each Side, and fasten them together, making an Arch over Head: Then they fasten small Sticks to them, cutting the Poles at right Angles, which serve for Ribs. After which they cover the whole with Bark of Trees, leaving a Hole in the Top for the Smoak to go out, and at one or both Ends to go in and out." (Hopkins, (1), p. 11.)

The same writer, on page 23, mentions a structure 50 or 60 feet in length, having fires burning within, and with 40 or more Indians

"seated on each Side of the Fires, from End to End of the *Wigwam*, except a space at one end of the *Wigwam*, for the *Priests*, or *Pawwaws*." The latter was probably in the present village of Great Barrington, Berkshire County, Massachusetts. It was undoubtedly a council house, where the tribal affairs were discussed and arranged, and in some respects this suggests the structures of the Iroquois. Although the works just quoted do not mention the existence of palisades among the Mahican, it is evident their villages in earlier times were so protected. The custom had probably been abandoned before the middle of the eighteenth century, by which time the tribes had become reduced in numbers and scattered; no longer maintaining compact settlements, but living apart in smaller groups. Fortunately there is preserved a picture of an ancient Mahican village, made before it had lost its primitive aspect. It appears on the very rare map of *Novi Belgii*, which was evidently engraved between the years 1651 and 1656 and bears a view of New Amsterdam, considered to be the second one made of the future city of New York. Above the picture of the village is the legend: *Modus muniendi apud Mahikanenses*, together with the Dutch translation. This is reproduced as plate 4, *a*. The wigwams are undoubtedly shown in too regular order, but in other respects the drawing is probably quite true and is suggestive of a statement made by Lahontan a few years later. When writing of the northern tribes in general he said:

"Their Villages are Fortified with double Palissadoes of very hard Wood, which are as thick as one's Thigh, and fifteen Foot high, with little Squares about the middle of the Courtines. Commonly their Huts or Cottages are Eighty Foot long, Twenty five or Thirty Foot deep, and Twenty Foot high. They are cover'd with the Bark of young Elms." (Lahontan, (1), II, p. 6.)

Describing the interior of the houses he referred to a raised platform extending along either wall which served as places for beds. Fires were kindled on the ground between platforms and there were "vents made in the Roof for the Smoke." This undoubtedly was a description of some Iroquoian settlement, but the reference to "little Squares about the middle of the Courtines" would certainly apply to the drawing of the Mahican village. However, there was probably a great similarity between the villages of the western Algonquian tribes of New England and those of the Iroquoian tribes beyond the Hudson. Here, as elsewhere in the country east of the Mississippi, it is evident that when two tribes or groups of tribes whose towns possess distinctive characteristics are near to one another their border settlements will show the peculiar features of both. The sketch of the Mahican village and the preceding note from Lahontan are likewise suggestive of a rectangular inclosure, an ancient Seneca site, near Geneva, Ontario County, New York. A plan of the latter is given in

figure 1, taken from Plate XIII of Squier's work (Squier, (1), pp. 61–62), and it is of the greatest interest to know the Seneca village was occupied long after the engraving of the Mahican town was made. Remarkable indeed is the history of this ancient Seneca site, which was destroyed by Sullivan in 1779, at which time the palisades were burned and the surrounding fields and orchards laid waste. This was

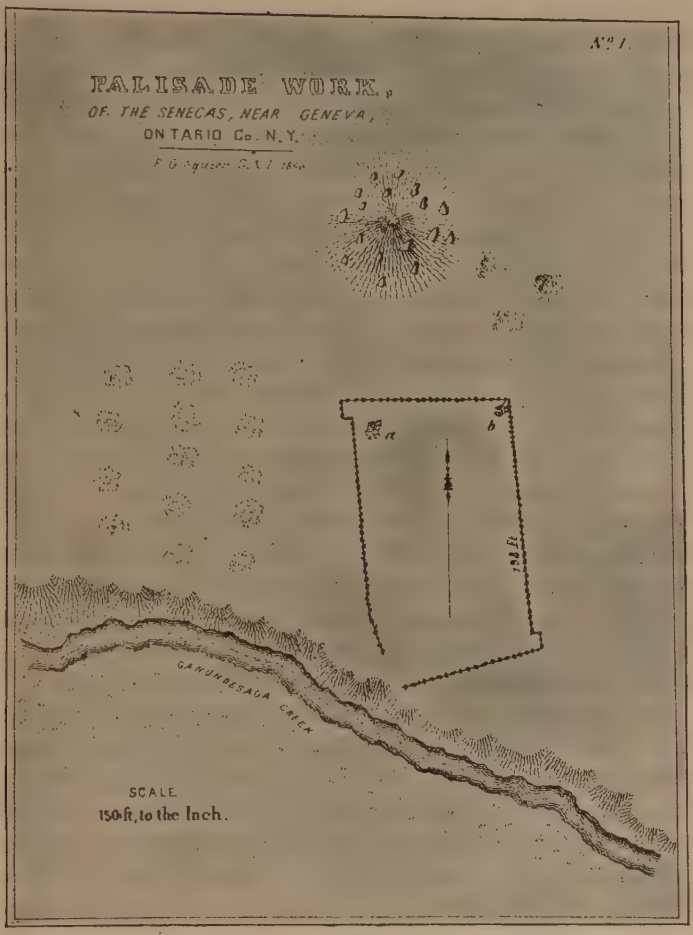

FIG. 1.—Plan of Ganundesaga Castle.

the Ganundesaga Castle, which had been built, or rebuilt, by order of Sir William Johnson in 1756, and in writing of it Squier said:

"The traces of this palisaded work are very distinct, and its outline may be followed with the greatest ease. Its preservation is entirely due to the circumstance that at the time of the cession of their lands at this point, the Senecas made it a special condition that this spot should never be brought under cultivation. 'Here,'

said they, 'sleep our fathers, and they can not rest well if they hear the plough of the white man above them.' The stipulations made by the purchasers have been religiously observed . . . In form the work was nearly rectangular, having small bastions at the northwestern and southeastern angles. At *a* and *b* are small heaps of stone, bearing traces of exposure to fire, which are probably the remains of forges or fireplaces. The holes formed by the decay of the pickets are now about a foot deep . . . A few paces to the northward of the old fort is a low mound with a broad base, and undoubtedly of artificial origin. It is now about six feet high, and is covered with depressions marking the graves of the dead . . . it is certain that it was extensively used by the Senecas for purposes of burial."

Probably similar traces of the Mahican villages could be discovered if their exact positions were known, although if the sites have been cultivated little would remain to indicate the locations of the ancient settlements. The habitations of the Seneca and other tribes of the Five Nations are of the greatest interest and will be mentioned later.

Long Island was occupied by several tribes, all rather small. The eastern end of the island has been mentioned in connection with the expedition of Verrazzano in 1524. An equally valuable and interesting description of the habitations on the extreme western end of the island a century and a half later is preserved in the journal of two Hollanders who visited the country during the years 1679 and 1680. (Dankers and Sluyter, (1), pp. 124–125.) While going through the woods they met a woman engaged in pounding corn. She belonged to the near-by village of *Najack*, on the site of the present Fort Hamilton, at the Narrows, to which place they accompanied her. Leaving the place where she was beating the corn, "We went . . . to her habitation, where we found the whole troop together, consisting of seven or eight families, and twenty or twenty-two persons, I should think. Their house was low and long, about sixty feet long and fourteen or fifteen feet wide. The bottom was earth, the sides and roof were made of reed and the bark of chestnut trees; the posts, or columns, were limbs of trees stuck in the ground, and all fastened together. The top, or ridge of the roof was open about half a foot wide, from one end to the other, in order to let the smoke escape, in place of a chimney. On the sides, or walls, of the house, the roof was so low that you could hardly stand under it. The entrance, or doors, which were at both ends, were so small and low that they had to stoop and squeeze themselves to get through them. The doors were made of reed or flat bark . . . They build their fires in the middle of the floor, according to the number of families which live in it."

The utensils belonging to each family were scattered on the ground near their particular fire; mats were on the ground and served as sleeping places. Evidently there were other similar houses in the community, as the authors continue by saying, "All who live in one house are generally of one stock or descent, as father and mother with their offspring." This and other statements led Morgan to remark:

"There is nothing in these statements forbidding the supposition that the household described practiced communism in living. The composition of the household shows that it was formed on the principle of gentile kin, while the several families cooked at the different fires, which was the usual practice in the different tribes." (Morgan, (1), p. 119.)

This suggests the house of the Mahican Indians near the Housatonic, already mentioned, and Gookin's description of certain structures of the tribes of eastern New England. As told in the preceding section, Algonquian tribes dominated both banks of the Hudson, therefore it must have been people of this stock who were encountered by the discoverers of the stream when, during the autumn of 1609, the *Half-Moon* sailed up as far as the vicinity of the present town of Hudson. In his journal Hudson wrote:

"I sailed to the shore in one of their canoes with an old man, who was the chief of a tribe consisting of forty men and seventeen women; these I saw there in a house well constructed of oak-bark, and circular in shape, so that it had the appearance of being built with an arched roof. It contained a great quantity of maize or Indian corn and beans of last year's growth, and there lay near the house for the purpose of drying enough to load three ships, besides what was growing in the fields. On our coming into the house, two mats were spread out to sit upon, and immediately some food was served in well made red wooden bowls; two men were also despatched at once with bows and arrows in quest of game, who soon after brought in a pair of pigeons which they had shot. They likewise killed a fat dog, and skinned it in great haste with shells which they had got out of the water." (Laet, (1), p. 300.)

Large circular houses, occupied by a number of persons, were quite unusual, but Roger Williams had evidently seen them among the Narraganset, and they may have been found elsewhere in New England.

The right, or west, bank of the Hudson southward from the mouth of Catskill Creek was occupied by the Munsee, one of the three principal divisions of the Delaware. The Munsee were further divided, the Minisink constituting the most important group. A drawing of a Minisink village is given beneath the Mahican town on the map of *Novi Belgii* and bears the legend: *Alter Modus apud*

Minnessincos. This is reproduced in plate 4, *b*. It appears as a typical eastern Algonquian settlement; a few wigwams surrounded by a single line of palisade, with one gateway. The details of the drawing, as the exactness with which the houses are placed, the height of the palisades, and the size of the figures in the foreground, are far from being accurate, but historically the engraving is of great interest and must necessarily convey some idea of the appearance of the ancient Munsee villages, which probably did not differ to any great degree from those farther south, among the Algonquian tribes who occupied the coastal plain as far as the mouth of the Neuse, in the present North Carolina.

There is reason to suppose the Eastern Shore of Maryland was at one time occupied by a comparatively large native population, with many villages scattered along the shore where fish and wild fowl were always to be secured as food. Some villages were protected by an encircling palisade; others were open. On the maps of Capt. John Smith the *Tockwogh flu.* corresponds with the position of the present Sassafras River, flowing between Cecil County on the north and Kent County on the south, the first forming the extreme northeast corner of Maryland, at the head of Chesapeake Bay. The stream was entered by the few Jamestown colonists who, during the latter part of July, 1608, embarked on their "second voyage to discover the Bay." Describing their experiences:

"Entring the River of *Tockwogh*, the Salvages all armed in a fleete of Boates round invironed us. It chanced one of them could speake the language of *Powhatan*, who perswaded the rest to a friendly parly. . . they conducted us to their pallizadoed towne, mantelled with the barkes of trees, with Scaffolda like mounts, brested about with Barks very formally. Their men, women, and children, with dances, songs, fruits, fish, furres, and what they had kindly entertained us, spreading mats for us to sit on, and stretching their best abilities to express their loves. Many hatchets, knives, and peeces of yron and brasse, we saw; which they reported to have from the *Sasquesahanockes*, a mighty people, and mortall enimies with the *Massawomeckes*." (Smith, (2), pp. 117–118.)

This settlement appears to have been rich and prosperous. Could it have been the one mentioned in the instructions issued to Sir Thomas Gates when he went to the colony in 1609? In that interesting and quaintly worded document it was told that "North at the head of the Bay is a lardge towne where is store of Copp and ffurs called *Cataanron* that trade and discovery will be to great purpose if it may be settled yearely."

Shell heaps along the shore of Chesapeake Bay, and on the banks of the many streams which flow into it, indicate the positions of ancient villages many of which were occupied long after the year

1607, and among these various sites one of the most interesting is on the left bank of the Choptank, a short distance below Cambridge, Dorchester County, Maryland. This was the position of a Nanticoke town which was occupied by them until the year 1722 (Mercer, (1), p. 98), and was indicated on the Herrman map of 1673 by the legend "Indian Towns." The Nanticoke were related linguistically with the Delaware and by some are thought to have been the early Tocwogh. However, both names were mentioned by Smith. The site below Cambridge will at once recall the present condition of the ancient settlement at Corn Hill, just north of Pamet River, on Cape Cod. The site on the bank of the Choptank has been covered by drifting sand in places to a depth of more than 20 feet. Now the surface upon which the village stood is indicated by a dark line on the face of the cliff bordering the river. This line is seldom more than a foot in thickness, and while the sand beneath it is often discolored through infiltration of matter from the old surface, the superstratum is quite pure. As the bank falls away into the encroaching waters camp refuse is revealed, objects of stone and fractured pebbles are found, and bits of earthenware are numerous. Traces of an ancient hearth were once exposed on the face of the cliff but the stones soon fell away. A rather large ossuary was exposed beneath the black stratum. The bones were not in any order and no objects of any kind were associated with them. How interesting would be a detailed description of this ancient village which stood less than two centuries ago. But it may be assumed the habitations were the dome-shaped wigwam, covered with mats or sheets of bark, as described in a journal of a voyage to Maryland in 1705. From the original manuscript preserved in the British Museum the following quotation is made:

"They take Care to build there Cabbins which they always doe on a swamp or Branch neare to a Little run of water, they Cutt downe halfe a dozen forked Poles and sett 'm up on end, then they cutt Downe some small Poles for Rafters and so Covering it with Barke, they make there fire in the Middle of the Cabbin and so lye Round itt upon Matts or Bears skins." (Bushnell, (2), pp. 535–536.)

Unfortunately the manuscript does not bear the name of its author, nor the place where the observations were made, but the description would probably apply to the entire region, on the shore of the bay as well as inland.

Quite similar to these were the structures of the people of tidewater Virginia, the tribes of the Powhatan confederacy, with whom the colonists came in contact during the spring of 1607. Fortunately an excellent description of their villages has been preserved and is quoted at length (Strachey, (1), pp. 70–76):

"Theire habitations or townes are for the most part by the rivers, or not far distant from fresh springs, comonly upon a rice of a hill

that they may overlooke the river, and take every small thing into view which sturrs upon the same. Their howses are not many in one towne, and those that are stand dissite [dispersed] and scattered without forme of a street, farr and wyde asunder. As for their howses, who knoweth one of them knoweth them all, even the chief kyng's house yt selfe, for they be all alike builded one to the other. They are like garden arbours, at best like our sheppards' cotages, made yet handsomely enough, though without strength or gaynes, of such yong plants as they can pluck up, bow, and make the greene toppes meete together, in fashion of a round roofe, which they thatch with matts throwne over. The walles are made of barkes of trees, but then those be principall howses, for so many barkes which goe to the making up of a howse are long tyme of purchasing. In the midst of the howse there is a louer [i. e. chimney or vent], out of which the smoake issueth, the fier being kept right under. Every house comonly hath twoo dores, one before and a posterne. The doores be hung with matts, never locked nor bolted, but only those matts be to turne upp, or lett fall at pleasure; and their howses are so comonly placed under covert of trees, that the violence of fowle weather, snowe, or raine, cannot assalt them, nor the sun in summer annoye them; and the roofe being covered, as I say, the wynd is easily kept out, insomuch as they are as warm as stoves, albeit very smoakey Wyndowes they have none, but the light comes in at the doore and at the louer. . . . By theire howses they have sometymes a scaena, or high stage, raised like a scaffold, of small spelts, reedes, or dried osiers, covered with matts, which both gives a shadowe and is a shelter, and serves for such a covered place where men used in old tyme to sitt and talke for recreation or pleasure, which they called praestega, and where, on a loft of hurdells, they laye forth their corne and fish to dry. They eate, sleepe, and dresse theire meate all under one roofe, and in one chamber, as it were.

"Rownd about the house on both sides are theire bedstedes, which are thick short posts stalkt into the ground, a foot high and somewhat more, and for the sydes small poles layed along, with a hurdle of reeds cast over, wherein they rowle downe a fyne white matte or twoo (as for a bedd) when they goe to sleepe, and the which the rowle up againe in the morning when the rise, as we doe our palletts. . . . About their howses they have commonly square plotts of cleered grownd, which serve them for gardens, some one hundred, some two hundred foote square, wherein they sowe their tobacco, pumpons, and a fruit like unto a musk millino, . . . In March and Aprill they live much upon their weeres, and feed on fish, turkies, and squirrells, and then, as also sometymes in May, they plant their fields and sett their corne. . . . In the tyme of their huntings, they leave their habitations, and gather themselves into companyes, as doe the Tartars,

and goe to the most desart places with their families, where they passe the tyme with hunting and fowling up towards the mountaines, by the heads of their rivers, wher in deed there is plentye of game. . . . Theire huntinge howses are not soe laboured, substancyall, nor artyficyall as their other, but are like our soldiers' cabins, the frame sett up in too or three howers, cast over head with matts, which the women beare after them as they carry likewise corne, acornes, morters, and all bag and baggage to use, when they come to the place where they purpose for the tyme to hunt."

It is interesting to compare the preceding account of the life and customs of the southern Algonquian tribes with Roger Williams's description of the manners of the Narraganset, especially when it is realized that both were written during the same generation. In the North, forced by the severity of the long winters, it is evident many sought the protection of "thick warme vallies," which was not necessary in the South. But when the hunting season came the different families would remove to a distance, where game was plentiful and more easily obtained, and there establish their rather temporary hunting camps by erecting shelters of bark, easily and quickly raised. To secure food was not the only reason for undertaking these distant journeys, as many skins had to be obtained, later to be tanned and made into moccasins and various garments, and to serve various purposes in the wigwams.

Many ancient sites have been discovered along the streams of tidewater Virginia, marking the positions of the villages indicated by Capt. John Smith. Many of these had undoubtedly been visited by Strachey and were known to him before he prepared his general description. In some localities banks of oyster shells, intermingled with bits of pottery, implements of stone and bone, and fragments of bones of animals which had served as food, alone mark the position of some ancient settlement which may have been frequented by the first colonists. Of other sites fewer traces remain, and in some instances all evidence has disappeared. Kecoughtan, which stood on the left bank of the James, near its mouth, and was probably the second of the native villages seen by the Jamestown colonists in 1607, has left very little to mark its position, and the same is true of other sites which figured in the early history of the colonies.

Adjoining the Virginia tribes on the south, and differing in no manner from them, were the villages discovered by the English expeditions sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh. When the first ships arrived off the coast in July, 1584, they reached "an Island, which they call Raonoak, distant from the harbour by which we entred, seven leagues: and at the North end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of Cedar, and fortified round about with sharp trees,

to keep out their enemies and the entrance into it made like a turne pike very artificially." (Hakluyt, (1), III, p. 248.)

The second expedition, which sailed from Plymouth April 9, 1585, reached the island of Wococon late in June. On July 3 they sent word of their arrival "to Wingina at Roanoak." On July 12 they reached "the Towne of Pomeioke," and three days later, July 15, "came to Secotan, and were well entertained there of the Savages," on the 18th returning to Wococon.

Among the members of this expedition was 'Maister Jhon White an Englisch paynter who was sent into the contrye by the queenes Maiestye, onlye to draw the description of the place, lyuely to describe the shapes of the Inhabitants their apparell, manners of Livinge, and fashions, att the speciall Charges of the worthy knighte, Sir Walter Ralegh." The original water color drawings made at that time by White are now preserved in the British Museum, and such as are used in the present work are reproduced from photographs made by the writer. Fortunately, among the drawings made by White were general views of the towns of Secotan and Pomeioc. These, with others of the collection, were first engraved by De Bry and published in 1591 to accompany Hariot's Narrative, appearing as the first part of De Bry's great collection of voyages.

The original drawing of Secotan, which is here reproduced as plate 5, differs in many details from the engraving which appeared as plate 20 in De Bry. The text accompanying the illustration described the large building in the lower left corner as one "wherein are the tombes of their kings and princes, as will appere by the 22." The habitations are shown with the mat or bark coverings removed so as to reveal the interior, with raised platforms which served as sleeping places. Ceremonies are portrayed and food is shown in large vessels resting upon mats spread on the ground. In the upper right corner, in the midst of a field of "Their rype corne" is "a scaffolde wher on they sett a cottage like a rownde chaire . . . wherin they place one to watche, for there are suche nomber of fowles, and beasts, that unless they keepe the better watche, they would soone devoure all their corne. For which cause the watcheman maketh continual cryes and noyse." Similar watch houses were erected in the fields by the Indians of New England, and may at times have been mistaken for small habitations.

White's drawing of Pomeioc was engraved and presented as plate 19 by De Bry. The original drawing, a photograph of which is shown in plate 6, *b*, bears this legend: "The towne of Pomeiock and true forme of their howses covered and enclosed some wth matts and some wth barcks of trees. All compassed abowt wth smale poles stock thick together in stedd of a wall." The description of the illustration in De Bry refers to the large closed structure

with the pointed roof as "their temple separated from the other howses . . . yt is builded rownde, and covered with skynne matts, and as yt wear compassed abowt with cortynes without windowes, and hath noe lighte but by the doore. On the other side is the kings lodginge." Continuing, the account says: "They keepe their feasts and make good cheer together in the midds of the towne as yt is described in the 17 Figure." This refers to the seventeenth plate in De Bry, the original of which is here reproduced as plate 6, *a*. In the engraving the drawing has been reversed and a fanciful background added. It there bears the title "Their manner of prainge with Rattels abowt the fyer." The description of the drawing as given by De Bry was probably told him by White, as follows:

"When they have escaped any great danger by sea or lande, or be returned from the warr in token of Joye they make a great fyer abowt which the men, and woemen sitt together, holdinge a certaine fruite in their hands like unto a rownde pompion or a gourde, which after they have taken out the fruits, and the seedes, then fill with small stons or certayne bigg kernells to make the more noise, and fasten that uppon a sticke, and singinge after their manner, they make merrie: as my selfe observed and noted downe at my beinge amonge them. For it is a strange custome, and worth the observation."

Secotan and Pomeioc, as viewed by White, were probably typical of all Algonquian settlements of tidewater Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. Kecoughtan, as already mentioned, stood on the north side of the James near its mouth, and may at one time have occupied the lowland near the mouth of a small stream which now forms the boundary between Warwick and Elizabeth City Counties. This site was visited during the summer of 1915 and several stone implements, many bits of pottery, chips of flint and quartz, and broken shells lay scattered over the surface. Traces of former occupancy are to be found at many places along the shore both above and below the stream. All may have been left by the people of Kecoughtan at different periods. In the year 1607, soon after the arrival of the colonists at Jamestown, Smith wrote:

"I was sent to the mouth of the river, to *Kegquouhtan* an Indian Towne, to trade for Corne, and try the river for Fish, but our fishing we could not effect by reason of the stormy weather . . . The Towne conteineth eighteene houses, pleasantly seated upon three acres of ground, uppon a plaine, half invironed with a great Bay of the great River, the other parte with a Baye of the other River falling into the great Baye, with a little Ile fit for a Castle in the mouth thereof, the Towne adjoyning to the maine by a necke of Land sixtie yardes."

At this time the settlement probably stood east of the boundary stream, in or near Hampton. Werowacomoco, the favorite village of Powhatan, where Capt. John Smith arrived about the beginning

of the year 1608, was located on the left bank of the York, evidently at "Rosewell," near White Marsh, Gloucester County. Here the lawn is washed by the tide, revealing implements of stone, broken pottery, masses of oyster shells, charcoal, and other traces of Indian occupancy. Smith has left an interesting description of the appearance of the great chief and his surroundings at that time (Smith, (1), pp. 18–19):

"Arriving at *Weramocomoco* their Emperour proudly lying uppon a Bedstead a foote high, upon tenne or twelve Mattes, richly hung with manie Chaynes of great Pearles about his necke, and covered with a great Covering of *Rahaughcums*. At [his] heade sat a woman, at his feete another; on each side sitting uppon a Matte uppon the ground, were ranged his chiefe men on each side the fire, tenne in a ranke, and behinde them as many yong women, each [with] a great Chaine of white Beads over their shoulders, their heades painted in redde: and [Powhatan] with such a grave and Majesticall countenance, as drave me into admiration to see such state in a naked Salvage."

Such was the barbaric splendor surrounding the ruling chief of the confederacy at the time of the settlement of Virginia. At that time, according to the map prepared by Capt. Smith, there were some 200 native villages within the region, more than three-quarters of which were known by name. Many were designated "Kings howses," others as "Ordinary howses," the former referring to the larger towns where there was probably a recognized chief or headman, the latter being less important or mere temporary camps.

A manuscript in the British Museum throws light on the distribution of the native villages along the principal water courses, and describes the position of the country occupied by the colony. This quaintly worded document is signed "Tho. Martin" and bears the date "15th of Dec. 1622," that being the year of the great massacre. Part of the account reads (Ms. vol. 12496, fol. 456):

"That parte of Virginia wth in w^{ch} we are seated and fitt to bee settled on for many hundred yards [?]. It is within y^{e} Territories of *Opiehakano*, it lyeth on the west side of Chesapiocke baye, which comandeth from the southermost parte of y^{e} fourth river called *Potomeck* w^{ch} lyeth north next hand to y^{e} River some 50 leagues in Latitude. In longitude it extendeth to the *Monakins* countrie next hand west and west and by North of equall length with the latitude. his owne principall state is in y^{e} seacond River called *Pamunkey* in the heart of his own inhabited territories. This revolted Indian King with his squaw comaundeth 32 Kingdomes under him. Everye Kingdome contayneinge y^{e} quantitie of one of y^{e} shires here in England. Eavery such Kingdome hath one speciall Towne seated

upon one of y^e^ three greate Rivers with sufficience of cleared ground for y^e^ plowe & bravely accomadated for fishing."

The "speciall" towns were evidently the "kings howses" of Smith, standing on the banks of the rivers which furnished easy communication between the many villages. Such was the condition of tidewater Virginia three centuries ago.

At the time of the discovery and settlement of Virginia, and for many years after, the Powhatan tribe occupied the country about the Falls of the James, the site now covered by the city of Richmond. When first visited by the colonists, in 1607, Wahunsonacock was the chief of the tribe, but soon he became known to the settlers by the tribal name, Powhatan, meaning "at the falls," and which was variously spelled Powatah, Powite, etc. A map of the greatest interest, showing this site as it was in the beginning of the year 1663, is reproduced in plate 7. This is copied from the manuscript volume bearing title "Byrd Title Book," now preserved by the Virginia Historical Society. The small village of the "Powite Indians," shown on the map at the mouth of Shaccoe Creek, corresponds with the position of the foot of Sixteenth Street, Richmond, now covered with tracks and warehouses. This small village had evidently survived the uprisings of 1622 and 1644, and the troubles attending the expulsion of the Indians who, about the year 1654, "lately sett downe near the falls of James river, to the number of six or seaven hundred." (Hening, (1), I, p. 402.) Contrary to the belief and statements of many writers, it would appear, by reason of these newcomers having been located "neer the falls of James river" for some months, that they came not as enemies seeking to attack the colonists, but for the purpose of finding a new home. Their identity has not been fully established, although it has been suggested, and with good reason, that they may have been a band of Yuchi, then recently expelled from their ancient seats among the mountains to the west of the headwaters of the James. Others believe them to have been Cherokee, but there is no reason to explain the desire of the latter to seek a new home, far away from their long occupied sites.

Probably the most convincing argument regarding the identity of these people is presented in the following statement by Mr. James Mooney:

"In an earlier Bureau publication the present writer assumed that the Rechahecrian or Rickohockan were identical with the Cherokee, based chiefly upon the statements of the Virginia records and of the traveler Lederer (1670) that they came from, or resided in, the mountain region at the back of Virginia and Carolina. Later consideration, however, indicates a possibility that they may have been the Erie—variously known as Eriga, Riquĕ, Riquehronnon and Rike-haka—a powerful tribe of Iroquoian stock residing, when

first known, along the southeastern shores of Lake Erie and the upper waters of the Allegheny River, but who, as the result of a desperate three years' war with the confederated Iroquois, 1653–1655, were utterly defeated and destroyed as a people, a part of the survivors being incorporated with the conquerors, while the rest fled to the southward, as did the kindred Susquehanna for the same cause and from the same enemy 20 years later."

The manners and customs of the western Algonquians do not appear to have differed greatly from those of the eastern tribes, and their villages were quite similar in appearance, but they were not known to Europeans until some years after the settlement of Jamestown in the year 1607. Now, with the country so thickly settled, it is of the greatest interest to trace the journeys of the early French missionaries and explorers through the unexplored wilderness between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. Of the many who entered this western country the names of Marquette and La Salle will ever remain the most prominent in history.

The region of lakes and forests south of Lake Superior must have been occupied by many camps and villages, for when writing "of the peoples connected with the Mission of Saint Esprit, at the point called Chagaouamigong," it was said:

"More than fifty Villages can be counted, which comprise divers peoples, either nomadic or stationary, who depend in some sort on this Mission" (p. 165). They resorted to this spot for trade, even the distant Illinois being among the number to gather here. And in mentioning the latter in detail the narrative continued: "The Ilinois, tribes extending toward the South, have five large Villages, of which one has a stretch of three leagues, the cabins being placed lengthwise. They number nearly two thousand souls, and repair to this place from time to time in great numbers, as Merchants, to carry away hatchets and kettles, guns, and other articles that they need. During the sojourn that they make here, we take the opportunity to sow in their hearts the first seeds of the Gospel. Fuller mention will be hereafter made of these peoples, and of the desire which they manifest to have one of our Fathers among them to instruct them; and also of the plan formed by Father Marquette to go thither next Autumn." (Dablon, (1), p. 167.)

This related to events during the years 1669 and 1670. The mission stood on the south shore of Lake Superior. The number of villages mentioned, if correct, must necessarily have included many of only a few wigwams, but nevertheless the Mission of St. Esprit must have been an important gathering place, some coming from their homes on distant lakes and rivers in light bark canoes to barter their beaver skins for weapons and utensils brought by traders from Montreal. And an animated scene it must have been, Jesuits and traders, with

the gathering of Indians, many of whom had never before seen a European.

On May 17, 1673, Marquette and Joliet, with five men, embarked in two canoes and started from the Mission of St. Ignace at Michilimackinac to penetrate the unknown region. They passed through Green Bay and entered Fox River, having stopped at the Menominee village, and on June 7 reached the great town of the Mascoutens near the portage leading from the Fox to the Wisconsin. Here were found, in addition to the Mascoutens, some Miami and Kickapoo forming one settlement.

"This Village Consists of three Nations who have gathered there,—Miamis, Maskoutens, and Kikabous. The former are the most civil, the most liberal, and the most shapely. They wear two long locks over their ears, which give them a pleasing appearance. They are regarded as warriors, and rarely undertake expeditions without being successful . . . The Maskoutens and Kikabous are ruder, and seem peasants in Comparison with the others. As Bark for making Cabins is scarce in this country, They use Rushes; these serve Them for making walls and Roofs, but do not afford them much protection against the winds, and still less against rains when they fall abundantly. The Advantage of Cabins of this kind is, that they make packages of Them, and easily transport them wherever they wish, while they are hunting." (Marquette, (1), p. 102.)

Three days later, having secured two Miami men to accompany them as guides, they made the portage to the Wisconsin River and "thus we left the Waters flowing to Quebeq, 4 or 500 Leagues from here, to float on Those that would thenceforward Take us through strange . . . lands and, at 42 and a half degrees Of latitude, We safely entered Missisipi on the 17th of June, with a Joy that I cannot Express." Floating down the Mississippi, they soon arrived at the village of the Peoria, an Illinois tribe, then living on the right bank of the Mississippi probably not far from the mouth of Des Moines. The town consisted of about 300 large wigwams, "roofed and floored with mats of Rushes," and there is reason to suppose there was one structure larger than the others where ceremonies were held, as Marquette, in referring to the dance of the Calumet (p. 133), wrote:

"In Winter, the ceremony takes place in a Cabin; in Summer, in the open fields. When the spot is selected, it is completely surrounded by trees, so that all may sit in the shade afforded by their leaves, in order to be protected from the heat of the Sun."

Such a gathering could not have taken place in an ordinary, small dwelling, and there was undoubtedly at this great settlement a "temple" similar to that discovered among the same people some years later.

The coming of the French was hailed with joy by the Illinois, and as they entered the village and approached a cabin, they saw an old man standing at the door who greeted them in these words: "How beautiful the sun is, O Frenchman, when thou comest to visit us! All our village awaits thee, and thou shalt enter all our Cabins in peace."

After the visit of the French the Peoria did not remain long on the western bank of the Mississippi. They removed to the Illinois River, where they were again met, some two months later, by Marquette on his journey northward. Here they were visited by a French officer, in the year 1756, who left an interesting account of his experiences, together with a brief description of the settlement:

"The village of the *Peorias* is situated on the banks of a little river, and fortified after the American manner, that is surrounded with great pales and posts. When we were arrived there I enquired for the hut of the grand chief; they brought me to a great hut, where the whole nation was assembled, on account of a party of their warriors, who had been beaten by the *Foxes*, their mortal enemies." (Bossu, (1), I, pp. 188–191.)

The following day Bossu encountered a great gathering on the plain, "making a dance in favour of their new Manitou," and later he entered "at the door of the temple of this false deity." Quite similar to this must have been the ceremony mentioned by Marquette among the same people 83 years before.

Thus it would seem that a "temple" and a large wigwam occupied by the chief were the principal structures in the village of the Peoria, standing on or near the banks of the Illinois River, about the middle of the eighteenth century. The town was protected by palisades, but the older village, visited by Marquette, may not have been so guarded. And this brief description is suggestive of the appearance of ancient Pomeioc with its palisade, surrounding a group of houses, including a "temple" and the larger wigwam occupied by the chief.

The great town of the Illinois, visited by the French under La Salle about the last days of the year 1679, may have been typical of the open settlements of the western Algonquian. It stood on the right bank of the Illinois River, in the present La Salle County, above the mouth of the Big Vermilion, the *Aramoni* of the French explorers, which enters the Illinois from the south. Just above, but on the opposite side of the Illinois, rises the steep cliff, Starved Rock, *La Rocher* of the early French. The village, which was soon to be destroyed by the Iroquois, later to rise again, was thus described:

"We fell down the said River, by easie Journeys, the better to observe that countrey, and supply our selves with Provisions. The Banks of that River are very charming to the Eye, as useful for Life. The Meadows, Fruit-Trees, and Forests, affording every thing that

is necessary for Man and Beasts, so that being amused by that agreeable variety, we spent six days from the *Portage* (that is the place where we Embarked) to the first village of the *Illinois*, called *Pontdalamia*, consisting of above 500 Cabins, where we found no Inhabitants. We went ashore, and viewed their Cabbins or Cottages, which are made with great pieces of Timber, interlac'd with Branches, and cover'd with Bark. The inside is more neat, the Walls or sides, as well as the Floor, being finely matted. Every Cottage has two Appartments, wherein several Families might lodge, and under every one of them there is a Cave or Vault, wherein they preserve their *Indian*-corn, of which we took a sufficient quantity, because we wanted Provisions." (Tonti, (1), pp. 28–29.)

This was the village of the Kaskaskia, although from the large number of wigwams encountered by the French it would be reasonable to suppose that some other tribes had gathered here. It was evidently a gathering place for the Illinois, one of the most important centers in the entire valley of the Mississippi. The reference to a "Cave or Vault" within every wigwam, where corn, and undoubtedly other possessions as well, were preserved, is of special interest as it tends to prove the permanent nature of the village of Pontdalamia; it likewise recalls the act of the Pilgrims, some sixty years earlier, when they discovered corn in pits or caches near the scattered native dwellings on Cape Cod.

The great village of the Illinois was occupied until about the year 1703, when the Kaskaskia, moving southward, stopped and reared a new town near the banks of the Mississippi, a short distance above the stream which perpetuates their tribal name, in the present Randolph County, Illinois. But between the time of the arrival of La Salle, during the winter of 1679, and the removal some years later, the settlement was often visited by missionaries and traders. But even earlier, in 1673, it was a resting place for Marquette during his journey up the Illinois River, just after having met the Peoria for the second time, and on his map the village was given the name Kachkaskia. At that time it consisted of 74 houses. Allouez gave the number of wigwams standing there at the time of his visit, in 1677, as 351, and Hennepin three years later increased the number to 460. All were probably correct, as it is well known that the Indians were accustomed to move from place to place, and seldom would all have been gathered in the village at the same time.

In the spring of the year 1692 Père Sébastien Rasles having left his winter encampment at *Missilimakinak*, started for the "country of the Illinois," and wrote:

"After forty days of travel I entered the river of the Illinois, and, after voyaging fifty leagues, I came to their first Village, which had three hundred cabins, all of them with four or five fires. One fire

is always for two families. They have eleven Villages belonging to their Tribe. On the day after my arrival, I was invited by the principal Chief to a grand repast, which he was giving to the most important men of the Tribe. . . . When all the guests had arrived they took their places all about the cabin, seating themselves either on the bare ground or on the mats. Then the Chief arose and began his address. . . . When the speech was finished, two Savages, who performed the duty of stewards, distributed dishes to the whole company, and each dish served for two guests; while eating, they conversed together on different matters; and when they had finished their repast they withdrew, carrying away according to their custom, what remained on their dishes." (Rasles, (1), pp. 163–165.)

From these various accounts it would appear that both the bark and mat covered dwellings stood at the great village of the Illinois, but the latter type was undoubtedly the more numerous.

Much of interest regarding the daily life and customs of the people who lived on the banks of the Illinois, during the closing years of the seventeenth century, is related in the narrative of Père Rasles. They raised large quantities of corn, but game was plentiful and "among all the Tribes of Canada, there is not one that lives in so great abundance of everything as do the Illinois. Their rivers are covered with swans, bustards, ducks, and teal." Turkeys were met "in troops, sometimes to the number of 200," while deer, bears, and buffalo were encountered in vast numbers. And mentioning their weapons he said:

"Arrows are the principal weapons that they use in war and in hunting. These arrows are barbed at the tip with a stone, sharpened and cut in the shape of a serpent's tongue; if knives are lacking, they use arrows also for flaying the animals which they kill. They are so adroit in bending the bow that they scarcely ever miss their aim; and they do this with such quickness that they will have discharged a hundred arrows sooner than another person can reload his gun. They take little trouble to make net suitable for catching fish in the rivers, because the abundance of all kinds of animals which they find for their subsistence renders them somewhat indifferent to fish. However, when they take a fancy to have some, they enter a canoe with their bows and arrows; they stand up that they may better discover the fish, and as soon as they see one they pierce it with an arrow. . . . The war-club is made of a deer's horn or of wood, shaped like a cutlass with a large ball at the end."

With these primitive weapons they would wage war on their enemies, and kill the game of the forests and plains.

The other tribes of the so-called Illinois confederacy were the Michigamea, Cahokia, and Tamaroa, with possibly one or more smaller tribes of which practically nothing is known.

The Michigamea, "great water," were encountered by Marquette in 1673 on the right bank of the Mississippi, in the northeastern part of the present State of Arkansas, but there is reason to suppose they had not been long in this southern home, and a few years before may have left the valley of the Illinois. On the d'Anville map of 1755 the present Sangamon River, a tributary of the Illinois flowing from the south, bears the name *Emicouen R.*, and on the left bank, about 35 miles from its mouth, is indicated the *Ancien village des Metchigamias*. This would undoubtedly place the site of the town within the bounds of the present Sangamon County, where several large groups of rather small burial mounds on the hills overlooking the valley of the *Emicouen* bear evidence of the location of some early settlement, probably that of the *Ancien village des Metchigamias*. But on the same map, on the left or east bank of the Mississippi about midway between the *Cahokias et Tamaroas* on the north and the *Mission des Caskakias* on the south, appears the name *Metchigamias*, evidently indicating the position of their village whence they had removed after having been met by Marquette farther south. However, they were accustomed to go north and winter with their kindred Tamaroa, whose principal village was near the mouth of a small stream which entered the Mississippi just below the first bridge built across the river at St. Louis. This was undoubtedly the position of the Tamaroa village in the autumn of the year 1700 when it was visited by Père Gravier. He arrived October 9 and the town was evidently deserted, as he said:

"At two leagues from the village, I found the Tamarouha, who have taken up their winter quarters in a beautiful bay, where they await the Metchigamia, who are to come over sixty leagues to winter, and form only one village with them. One of our missionaries is to visit them every second day all the winter long, and do as much for the Kaoukia, who have taken their winter quarters four leagues above the village." (Gravier, (1), p. 118.)

The Cahokia and Tamaroa occupied the rich lowlands on the left bank of the Mississippi, opposite the city of St. Louis, in the present St. Clair and Madison Counties, Illinois. The village of the tribes stood near the mouth of the small stream, already mentioned, which later became known as Cahokia Creek, a name which it now bears. This was reached by La Salle on February 3, 1682, but the Cahokia were not mentioned as Tonti wrote:

"We came to the Village of the *Tamaoas*, where we met with no body at all, the Savages being retired into the Woods to Winter; we made there however some Marks to let 'em know that we had pass'd by." (Tonti, (1), p. 77.)

Evidently it was the custom of the Illinois tribes to leave their villages about the beginning of winter and to seek the protection and

seclusion of the vast forests, where they would hunt during the cold season, but game was so plentiful that food was always easily and quickly secured. With the coming of spring they would return to their villages and plant large fields of corn, which grew luxuriantly in the rich black soil.

On the night of October 10, 1721, Charlevoix remained at the "village of the *Caoquias* and the *Tamarouas*, two Illinois tribes which have been united, and together compose no very numerous canton. This village is situated on a small river which runs from the east, and has no water but in the spring season so that we were obliged to walk above half a league, before we could get to our cabbins. I was astonished they had pitched upon so inconvenient a situation, especially as they had so many better in their choice; but I was told that the Mississippi washed the foot of that village when it was built, that in three years it has lost half a league of its breadth, and that they were thinking of seeking out for another habitation, which is no great affair amongst the Indians." (Charlevoix, (1), II, pp. 218–219.)

The "Illinois country" remained a favorite region for the Indian long after the coming of white settlers. As already mentioned, the various tribes who occupied the central part of the Mississippi Valley were ever moving from place to place, seldom remaining for a long period at any one location. Thus a century after Charlevoix passed down the Illinois and entered the Mississippi extensive villages of the Sauk and Fox stood on the banks of Rock River, near its mouth, and consequently on or near the left bank of the Mississippi, in the present Rock Island County, Illinois.

Fort Armstrong stood at the lower end of Rock Island, and on Friday, August 1, 1817, Major Long wrote:

"Immediately opposite to the fort on the south side of the river is a village of the Fox Indians, containing about thirty cabins, with two fires each. The number of souls at this village is probably about five hundred. On Rock River, two miles above its mouth, and three across the point from Fort Armstrong, is a Sack village, consisting of about one hundred cabins, of two, three, and, in some instances, four fires each. It is by far the largest Indian village situated in the neighborhood of the Mississippi between St. Louis and the Falls of St. Anthony. The whole number of Indians at this village amounts probably to between two and three thousand. They can furnish eight or nine hundred warriors, all of them armed with rifles or fusees. The Indians of these two villages cultivate vast fields of corn, which are situated partly in the low ground and extend up the slopes of the bluffs. They have at present several hundred acres under improvement in this way." (Long, (1), pp. 68–69.)

These villages on the banks of Rock River dated from the early part of the eighteenth century, and probably presented all the characteristic features of the western Algonquian settlements. Their habitations undoubtedly resembled those of the southern Ojibway, an oval, dome-shaped frame covered with sheets of bark or rush mats. A typical example of the latter, as it stood on the south shore of Mille Lac, Minnesota, during the spring of 1900, is shown in plate 2, *b*. The description of the large fields of corn is interesting, and this would probably have applied to the settlements of the Cahokia and Tamaroa a century earlier. These two Illinois tribes, as already mentioned, occupied the wide lowland on the left bank of the Mississippi opposite the present city of St. Louis. The crests of the bluffs bordering this area on the east reveal many traces of the period of Indian occupancy, with innumerable graves on the higher points. And during past centuries the sunny slopes of the bluffs may have been covered by the gardens and cornfields of the native tribes who then claimed this fertile region.

The Sauk village near the mouth of Rock River was the birthplace, in the year 1767, of the great leader Black Hawk, who, some 65 years later, during the early part of 1832, led his people against the frontier settlements of Illinois. His village had been destroyed by the militia June 15, 1831, after the escape of its inhabitants, but at the present time large groups of small burial mounds mark the positions of these late native settlements.

From the preceding quotations it will be understood how a region once occupied by a few thousand families in after years would present the appearance of formerly having been the home of a great multitude. Moving from place to place, they would leave traces of their villages and more temporary camps, ashes and refuse would accumulate, bits of pottery and objects of stone would remain lost and scattered over the surface, to be found at the present day. Often a cemetery or a few graves may be discovered near the site of the wigwams. Evidently the central village, often surrounded by or in the vicinity of the extensive cornfields, would be occupied during the spring, summer, and early autumn, and later in the year, after the harvest, it would be temporarily abandoned, the families removing to the forests, there to hunt during the ensuing season. Thus one group of families, a few hundred persons, within a single generation, would have occupied several widely separated and distinct sites. Such was the condition in the "country of the Illinois" and elsewhere from the Mississippi to the Atlantic. Among the eastern Algonquian tribes, as related by Père Sébastien Rasles when describing the customs of the Abnaki; by Roger Williams, who wrote of the movements of the Narragansets; and by Strachey when he recorded the habits of the confederated tribes of

tidewater Virginia as they were during the earliest years of the colony, the inhabitants of a village would leave their permanent settlements during certain seasons to hunt in the forests, or to seek and gather oysters and clams on the coast. In the north the first move from the winter encampment would usually be to the "sugar camp," where large quantities of sugar would be made from the sap of the maple. The move was anticipated with genuine pleasure by the northern people, as it marked the end of the long winter, when the sun was gaining warmth, but the nights remained cold and frosty.

The Shawnee, so closely allied linguistically with the Sauk and Fox, before the removal of a large part of the tribe southward to and beyond the Ohio, may have lived near the Illinois tribes. During their movement southward they evidently stopped near the mouth of the Wabash, where they may have resided for some time. Although they do not appear to have been encountered in that locality by Europeans, the tradition of their having lived there was undoubtedly heard by the early French explorers, and on certain maps dating from the first part of the eighteenth century, as for example on the Moll map of 1720, the site of their village is indicated by the legend: "Savanah old Settlement." This corresponds with the position of the "Bone bank," so-called locally, an ancient village site on the left bank of the Wabash, in Posey County, Indiana. By the course of the river it is some 10 miles above its junction with the Ohio, but in an air line not more than 2½ miles from the latter stream. The site occupied the summit of a high bluff and extended for 1,500 or more feet along the river. Its width could not be determined, as it had been constantly worn away by the action of the waters of the Wabash. Innumerable human remains and vast numbers of implements and ornaments of Indian origin have been recovered from the site, which, however, may have been occupied successively by different tribes, or by the same people at intervals. Nevertheless it must, at some time, have been the site of a Shawnee village. Passing southward beyond the Ohio the Shawnee evidently established a great town on the banks of the Cumberland, the site now covered by the city of Nashville, Tennessee, thousands of stone-lined graves marking the position of the ancient settlement. A description of this once extensive village would be of the greatest interest, but none has been preserved. It may, however, have resembled Pontdalamia on the Illinois.

From the banks of the Cumberland one or more bands of the Shawnee moved as far east as the Savannah. Later some turned westward and after stopping for a short time on the Chattahoochee settled on the left bank of the Tallapoosa, near Fort Toulouse, in

the present Montgomery County, Alabama. Here they were seated when visited by Hawkins on December 19, 1796, when he wrote:

"From this bank arise several springs, particularly one, a large one, half a mile farther, the Uchee village, a remnant of those settled on the Chattahoochee, half a mile farther pass a Shawne village, they speak the language and retain the manners of their countrymen to the N. W. This town house differs from the Creek, it is an oblong square building, 8 feet pitch roofed on the common mode of cabin building, the sides and roof covered with bark of pine." (Hawkins, B., (2), p. 41.)

An interesting question now arises in connection with the "town house" existing in this Shawnee village. Among the Algonquian tribes of the north, including, of course, the Shawnee, no record is preserved of any structure resembling the rotunda, or town house, similar to those which stood in the villages of the Cherokee or other southern tribes. Ceremonial lodges were erected by the Algonquians, and structures of several forms were built to serve as council houses, some being temporary shelters, others of a more permanent nature, but the "town house" like that known among the southern tribes was not used. The Shawnee, who, in 1796, were living on the banks of the Tallapoosa, had been among the Muskhogean tribes for several generations and must necessarily have adopted some of their customs, one being the erection of a "town house" in their village. However, it differed in form and material from those of the neighboring towns, being quadrilateral instead of round, and evidently covered and roofed with bark without the usual wattlework protected by clay. This appears to have been an instance where a new custom was adopted by the Algonquian from the Muskhogean, but the form of the structure remained essentially Algonquian.

At this time, the closing years of the eighteenth century, the greater part of the Shawnee were living in southern Ohio. But it is quite evident their villages were already assuming the appearance of the near-by settlements of the whites across the Ohio in Kentucky. A brief, though interesting, description of Old Chillicothe has been preserved, although the site of this town has not been determined, as several widely separated settlements bore the name. It may have stood on Paint Creek, in the present Ross County, the town of that name destroyed by the Kentuckians in 1787. The account was prepared before 1785:

"Old Chelicothe is built in form of a Kentucky station, that is, a parallelogram, or long square; and some of their houses are shingled. A long Council-house extends the whole length of the town, where the king and chiefs of the nation frequently meet, and consult of all matters of importance, whether of a civil or military nature." (Filson, (1), p. 98.)

This refers to a rectangular inclosure, formed partly of long sheds, the outer walls of which served as the outside of the "station." These would be connected by strong palisades, with one or two gates. Old Chillicothe was of this form, a long shed, extending the length of one side of the inclosure, evidently being the council house. The council house may have been a separate structure within the inclosure, but this appears doubtful. It is to be regretted that more is not known of the appearance of the native villages which stood in the valley of the Ohio long after the close of the Revolution.

As already shown, Algonquian tribes occupied the right, or west, bank of the Hudson. Beyond this narrow strip of territory lay the country of the Iroquois, the home of the Five Nations, extending across the present State of New York. Continuing westward along the south shore of Lake Erie there had formerly lived other tribes belonging to the same linguistic family. This had evidently been the home of the Iroquoian peoples for many generations. Here they had built many villages, traces of which have been discovered throughout the country, with innumerable objects of native origin scattered over the surface. The sites of many villages occupied within the historic period have been identified by name, and on them, mingled with implements of stone, are often found objects of European origin, these being more numerous on the later sites. The long communal dwellings of the people of the Five Nations differed in many details from the habitations of the neighboring tribes. They were often 100 feet or more in length, closely grouped and protected by an encircling palisade of one, two, or three rows of timbers. A general description of their habitations and villages was prepared soon after the year 1642, before intercourse with the Europeans had wrought any changes in their primitive customs. At that time it was said (Van der Donck, (1), pp. 196–198):

"Their houses are usually constructed in the same manner, without any particular costliness or curiosity in or to the same. Sometimes they build their houses above a hundred feet long; but never more than twenty feet wide. When they build a house they place long slender hickory saplings in the ground, having the bark stripped off, in a straight line of two rows, as far asunder as they intend the breadth of the house to be, and continuing the rows as far as it is intended the length shall be. Those sapling poles are bent over towards each other in the form of an arch, and secured together, having the appearance of a garden arbour. The sapling poles are then crossed with split poles in the form of lathing, which are well fastened to the upright work. The lathings are heaviest near the ground. A space of about a foot wide is left open in the crown of the arch. For covering they use the bark of ash, chestnut, and other trees, which they peel off in pieces of about six feet long, and as broad

as they can. They cover their houses, laying the smooth side inwards, leaving an open space of about a foot wide in the crown, to let out the smoke. They lap the side edges and ends over each other, having regard to the shrinking of the bark, securing the covering with withes to the lathings. A crack or rent they shut up, and in this manner they make their houses proof against wind and rain. They have one door in the center of the house. When the bark of the ash and chestnut trees is not loose, they have recourse to the timber trees, which grow along the brooks, the bark of which can be taken off during the whole summer season. Durability is a primary object in their houses. In short, their houses are tight and tolerably warm, but they know nothing of chambers, halls, and closetings. They kindle and keep their fires in the middle of their houses, from one end to the other, and the opening in the crown of the roof lets out the smoke. From sixteen to eighteen families frequently dwell in one house, according to its size. The fire being kept in the middle, the people lay on either side thereof, and each family has its own place. . . . In their villages and their castles they always build strong, firm works, adapted to the places. For the erection of these castles, or strong holds, they usually select a situation on the side of a steep high hill, near a stream or river, which is difficult of access, except from the water, and inaccessible on every other side, with a level plain on the crown of the hill, which they enclose with a strong stockade work in a singular manner. First they lay along on the ground large logs of wood, and frequently smaller logs upon the lower logs, which serve for the foundation of the work. Then they place strong oak palisades in the ground on both sides of the foundation, the upper ends of which cross each other and are joined together. In the upper cross of the palisades they then place the bodies of trees, which makes the work strong and firm. . . . In their castles, they frequently have twenty or thirty houses. . . . Besides their strong holds, they have villages and towns which are enclosed. Those usually have woodland on the one side, and corn lands on the other sides. They also frequently have villages near the water sides, at fishing places, where they plant some vegetables; but they leave these places every year on the approach of winter, and retire to their strong places, or into the thick woods, where they are protected from the winds, and where fuel is plenty, and where there is game and venison. Thus they subsist by hunting and fishing throughout the year. Their castles and large towns they seldom leave altogether. From other situations they remove frequently, and they seldom remain long at other places. In the summer, and in the fishing seasons, many come to the water sides and rivers. In the fall and winter, when venison is best, they retire to the woods and hunting grounds. Sometimes towards the spring of the year, they come in multitudes to the sea shores and bays, to take

oysters, clams, and every kind of shell-fish, which they know how to dry, and preserve good a long time."

The same writer remarks (p. 151):

"Chestnuts would be plentier if it were not for the Indians, who destroy the trees by stripping off the bark for covering for their houses."

This would tend to prove the chestnut to have been a favorite one with the Indians, the bark evidently being used extensively as a covering for their habitations.

The preceding description should probably be accepted as applicable to the villages of all the tribes forming the league, and these in turn may have resembled the more ancient settlements which once stood on the palisaded hilltops south of Lake Erie. The use of the long, extended habitations so characteristic of these tribes developed through their clan system and custom. Each house was occupied by the members of one family, the descendants of a woman through the female line. Descent among the Iroquoian tribes passed through the woman, the children belonging to the clan or gens of the mother. As requirements made necessary the house was extended. Thus in time many were occupied by a large number of persons, all, however, belonging to the same clan, descendants through the female line from acknowledged head of the particular group. (Hewitt, (1).)

After forming the league the people of the several tribes called themselves the *Ho de' no sau nee*, that is "the people of the long house." The confederacy was thought to resemble their ancient form of habitation, a long house, with different groups, each with its own fire. The five tribes, whose rich territories extended from east of Lake Erie to near the Hudson, were likened to one great family, occupying one long house, with five fires ever burning. Later the Tuscarora became the sixth member of the league, though not regarded as holding a position equal to that of the others. The Seneca was the most numerous of the nations of the league. Their council fire when first known to Europeans was at *Tsonontowan*, near the present town of Naples, Ontario County. They were the "door-keepers" of the Long House, living to the westward. Theirs was the first fire; that of the Mohawk who lived on the extreme east was the fifth.

The villages of the several tribes were very numerous. Many were strongly fortified, with extensive fields of corn surrounding and near by. Others were scattered, more open settlements, and as already mentioned, a small group of persons would often have several sites which they would occupy during different seasons of the year, returning to the protected stronghold for the winter months. The habitations were of various lengths, from the unit of the structure, with a single fire and occupied by a few persons, to the extended long house of 100 feet or more in length.

Late in the month of December, 1634, Arent Van Curler, from the manor of Rensselaerwyck, reached the Mohawk village of *Teatontaloga*, on the north side of the Mohawk and near the mouth of Schoharie Creek, in the present Montgomery County. Later this was the site of the Lower Mohawk Castle, so often mentioned in history during the eighteenth century. Describing the village as it stood in the winter of 1634 he wrote (Van Curler, (1), p. 90):

"The name is *Te notoge*. There are 55 houses, some 100 and other ones more or less paces long . . . This castle has been surrounded by three rows of palisades, but I did not see anything peculiar about them, but that six or seven pieces were so thick that it was quite a wonder that savages should be able to do that."

Another account of the same settlement, though at that time it may not have occupied the identical location, appeared about a century later. This later description contains some rather interesting information respecting the manners and customs of the Mohawk at that time, but it was evidently prepared by one who was not in sympathy with Indian habits (Humphreys, (1), pp. 297–298):

"The Castle or chief Town of these *Mohocks* is neighbouring to the Queen's Fort, consisting of about 50 *Wigwams* or Houses. These *Wigwams* are Hutts made of Matts and Bark of Trees put together, with Poles about three or four Yards high. The *Mohocks* Cloathing is a short Coat like a Mantle, made of a Blanket or Bear's Skin, their Bed is a Matt or Skin laid on the Ground. They paint and grease themselves very much with Bear's Fat clarified; they cut the Hair off from one Side of their Heads, and tye up some of that on the other Side, in Knotts, on the Crown, with Feathers."

This reference to mat and bark covered wigwams is rather more suggestive of an Algonquian village, and it is evident the Mohawk had, at this time, adopted some of the customs of the neighboring Algonquian tribes. The Mahican were living a few miles eastward and on the south were the Munsee. Both tribes erected wigwams covered with bark and mats.

The writer continued by saying:

"For four or five Months in the Year, there is scarce any stirring abroad, by Reason of the extream Coldness of the Weather, and the deep Snows that fall."

The road to Albany, 44 miles distant, was a "rough *Indian* Path thro' vast woods." This less than two centuries ago.

Leaving *Te notoge*, Van Curler reached the Oneida village standing just east of the present town of Munnsville, Madison County, and on December 30, 1634, entered the palisade through the gate—

"Which was 3½ feet wide, and at the top were standing three big wooden images, of cut wood, like men, and with them I saw three scalps fluttering in the wind, that they had taken from their foes as a

token of the truth of their victory. This castle has two gates, one on the east side and one on the west side. On the east side a lock of hair was also hanging; but this gate was 1½ feet smaller than the other one. . . . This castle is situated on a very high hill, and was surrounded with two rows of palisades. It was 767 paces in circumference. There are 66 houses, but much better, higher, and more finished than all the others we saw. A good many houses had wooden fronts that are painted with all sorts of beasts. There they sleep mostly on elevated boards, more than any other savages."

Seldom were the outsides of dwellings of tribes east of the Mississippi decorated in any manner, consequently this reference is of special interest. However, the lack of decoration should probably be attributed to the nature of the structures rather than to any other cause, as the mat-covered habitations of the Algonquian tribes did not present a good surface for painting. But among the southern people houses were sometimes decorated. This will be described later.

FIG. 2.—Bark house. Method of construction of the Iroquois long house. (From Handbook of American Indians.)

Westward beyond the Oneida lay the Onondaga, at whose chief town, Onondaga, burned the Great Council Fire of the League of the Iroquois. This most important village was removed from place to place, but always remained within a rather small radius, and many of the various sites which have been discovered in the southeastern part of the present Onondaga County may at some time have been occupied by this town, which should be termed the capital of the league.

On July 21, 1743, when Bartram and his party arrived at Onondaga they stopped before the council house where they were received by the chiefs who had gathered to greet them. They were conducted to the apartments at both ends of the long house (fig. 2). These they were to occupy during their stay. Their Indian attendants were given adjoining apartments. Fortunately an interesting description of the structure, together with a plan (fig. 3), was preserved in the narrative of the journey (Bartram, J., (1), pp. 40–41):

"This cabin is about 80 feet long, and 17 broad, the common passage 6 feet wide; and the apartments on each side 5 feet, raised a foot above the passage by a long sapling hewed square, and fitted with joists that go from it to the back of the house; on these joists they lay large pieces of bark, and on extraordinary occasions spread matts made of rushes, this favour we had; on these floors they set or lye down every one as he will, the apartments are divided from each other by boards or bark, 6 or 7 feet long, from the lower floor to the upper, on

which they put their lomber, when they have eaten their homony, as they set in each apartment before the fire, they can put the bowl over head, having not above 5 foot to reach; they set on the floor sometimes at each end, but mostly at one: they have a shed to put their wood into in the winter, or in the summer to set to converse or play, that has a door to the south; all the side and roof of the cabin is made of bark, bound fast to poles set in the ground, and bent round on the top, or set aflatt, for the roof as we set our rafters; over each fire place they leave a hole to let out the smoak, which in rainy weather they cover with a piece of bark."

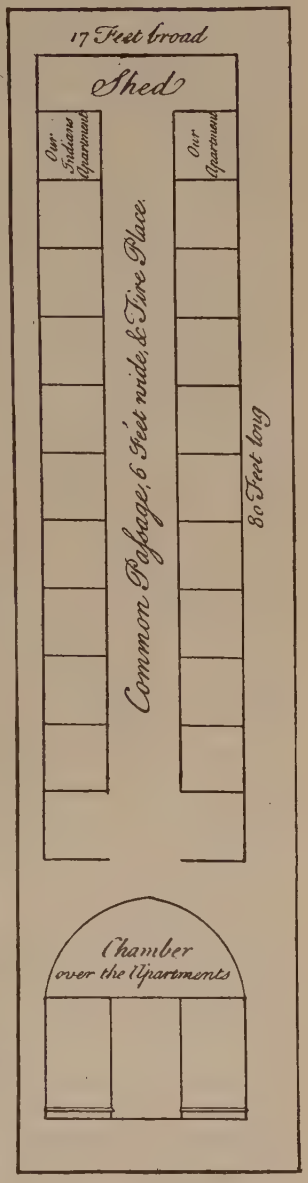

FIG. 3.—Plan of Onondaga long house, 1743. (From Bartram.)

While the preceding was probably a typical long habitation of the Iroquois, and was accurately described, nevertheless it is quite evident other similar structures differed in certain details, and that all were not exactly alike in interior arrangement. Some appear to have had small closet-like compartments for storage purposes placed between the larger divisions which served for sleeping and living apartments. Such variations probably occurred at different times and among the several tribes.

It is quite remarkable that a people possessing such a complex form of government did not, until after the middle of the eighteenth century, erect a structure which was retained solely as a council house, or gathering place, as was the custom among the southern tribes. Before that time the house of the Fire Keeper of the nation was in reality the capitol, where tribal questions were discussed and where ambassadors from other tribes were received.

The people of the Five Nations had extensive fields and gardens, surrounding or near their villages, and raised vast quantities of corn and vegetables. Much corn would be deposited in pits, excavated and lined with bark for the purpose, and these after being filled with grain would be covered with other sheets of bark with a mass of earth above. Such caches,

often filled with carbonized grain, have been found on many long-deserted village sites. Other similar pits served as places for the storage of various possessions of the people, such as skins, cured meats, and different vegetables. It will be recalled that "a Cave or Vault," filled with corn, was discovered by the French in 1679 beneath the floor of every wigwam at the great village of the Illinois, but among the Iroquois it was the custom to prepare the caches outside the dwellings.

When away from their villages the Iroquois erected a small temporary shelter of rather unusual form: "It was triangular at the base, the frame consisting of three poles on a side, gathered at the top, but with space sufficient between them for a chimney opening." This frame was covered with sheets of bark after the fashion of the larger structures. (Morgan, (2), I, p. 310.) But even a simpler form of shelter was known to the people of the region, as described by one who enjoyed its protection. On the night of July 11, 1743, while on his journey to Onondaga, Bartram and his party encamped in the vicinity of the Indian settlement of Shamokin, near the forks of the Susquehanna, when "about break of day it began to rain and the Indians made us a covering of bark got after this manner: They cut the tree round through the bark near the root, and make the like incision above 7 feet above it, there horizontal ones are joined by a perpendicular cut, on each side of which they after loosen the bark from the wood, and hewing a pole at the small end gradually tapering like a wedge about 2 feet, they force it in till they have compleated the separation all round, and the bark parts whole from the tree, one of which, a foot diameter, yields a piece 7 feet long and above 3 wide: And having now prepared four forked sticks, they are set into the ground the longer in front; on these they lay the cross-poles, and on them the bark. This makes a good tight shelter in warm weather." (Bartram, J., (1), pp. 20–21.)

Temporary shelters of some simple form must necessarily have been made by all tribes, but seldom were they seen or described by those who have left accounts of their journeys through the Indian country of a century and more ago. The shelter mentioned by Bartram may have been of the form used throughout the eastern area.

The site of the palisaded Onondaga town which was attacked by the French led by Champlain in the year 1615 was identified some years ago. It stood in the town of Fenner, 3 miles east of Perryville in the present Madison County, at the outlet of Nichols pond. As described by Champlain it was surrounded by a quadruple palisade, very strongly built, as shown in the accompanying drawing. (Champlain, (1), p. 444.) This, one of the earliest illustrations of an Iroquoian settlement, is reproduced in plate 8, *b*. This location was within the lands of the Oneida, east of the Onondaga, although it was evidently a settlement of the latter tribe, one of their principal

villages. But a much earlier description of an Iroquoian town has been preserved, and although not within the limits of the United States it should now be mentioned. Hochelaga, the Huron settlement which stood on the site of Montreal, was visited by Jacques Cartier during his second expedition in the year 1535. A very crude and inaccurate drawing of the palisaded village was given on pages 446–447 of the third volume of Ramusio, printed in Venice in 1556. The description was translated and used by Hakluyt (Cartier, (1), p. 220), but the illustration was omitted. After referring to the fields of corn the account continues:

"In the midst of those fields is the citie of Hochelaga, placed neere, and as it were joyned to a great mountaine that is tilled round about, very fertill, on the top of which you may see very farre, we named it Mount Roiall. The citie of Hochelaga is round, compassed about with timber, with three course of Rampaires, one within another framed like a sharpe Spire, but laide acrosse above. The middlemost of them is made and built as a direct line, but perpendicular. The Rampiers are framed and fashioned with peeces of timber, layd along the ground, very well and cunningly joyned togither after their fashion. This enclosure is in height about two rods. It hath but one gate or entrie thereat, which is but with piles, stakes, and barres. Over it, and also in many places in the wall, there be places to runne along, and ladders to get up, all full of stones, for the defence of it. There are in the towne about fiftie houses, about fiftie paces long, and twelve or fifteene broad, built all of wood, covered over with the barke of the wood as broad as any boord, very finely and cunninly joyned togither. Within the said houses, there are many roomes, lodgings and chambers. In the middest of every one there is a great Court, in the middle whereof they make their fire. They live in common togither: then do the husbands, wives and children each one retire themselves to their chambers."

Such was an Iroquoian village nearly four centuries ago, when first visited by Europeans, and the description is quite similar to that of the Mohawk Castle just one century later. It is quite evident that little or no change had taken place in the manners of the people during the century. They lived as they had for generations, and so continued until about the time of the Revolution. Another view of Hochelaga appears on the Lescarbot map of 1609, and is now reproduced as plate 8, *a*. Five houses are shown surrounded by a palisade, with one gate facing the south.

As already mentioned, innumerable village sites have been discovered throughout the country of the Five Nations, many of which have been identified as having been occupied during the early days of the colony. In many instances traces of the palisades, or remains of the embankments by which the settlements were surrounded and

protected, have been encountered. Similar sites have been encountered in the territory westward from that of the Five Nations, south of Lake Erie. These were probably the towns of the ancient Eries, the Cat Nation of the French, who disappeared from history about the middle of the seventeenth century. There may have been little or no difference in the appearance of the towns of the Huron, the Erie, and the Five Nations. Some were strongly palisaded; others were open, with the habitations more scattered.

Extending southward from the land of the Five Nations, following the valley of the Susquehanna to the shores of Chesapeake Bay, lived other Iroquoian tribes, the best known being those whose name is now applied to the river along which their villages once stood. Here they were met by Capt. John Smith and his party of Virginia colonists during the summer of 1608. The English were awed when they encountered these people. "Such great and well proportioned men, are seldome seene, for they seemed like Giants to the English, yea and to the neighbours: yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition, [and they were] with much adoe restrained from adoring the discoverers as Gods." Their principal towns were some miles above the mouth of the river, were six in number, and some, if not all, were protected by palisades. The houses were covered with mats or bark, and probably very often both mats and bark served to cover one structure. An engraving, entitled "The Indian Fort Sasquesahanok," appeared on the Moll map of 1720. This, however, was obviously copied from the drawing of Pomeioc made by White in 1585. In printing the plate the view was reversed, but the relative arrangement remained the same. The curious landscape was evidently prepared to add to the deception; nevertheless the general appearance of the village may not have differed greatly from the picture, which was probably typical of the whole region. This is reproduced in plate 9, *a*. On the Herrman map of 1673 a cluster of eight houses, surrounded by a palisade, bears the legend "The present Sassquahanna Indian fort," and is placed on the right bank of the stream just above the Conewago Falls, in the present York County, Pennsylvania. The latter was probably one of the ancient sites earlier indicated on Smith's map as being the position of a "King's howse." On the same map Smith shows the town of *Utchowig* on what appears to have been the West Branch of the Susquehanna. This, according to the belief of Hewitt, was probably near the present city of Lockhaven, Clinton County. Just below Lockhaven, in the West Branch, is Great Island, known to have been the site of ancient Indian settlements, and which may have been, and probably was, at one time occupied by the Susquehanna village of *Utchowig*. The Susquehanna were driven southward by the Iroquois, or Five Nations, about the year 1675, and later the valley of the stream was

occupied by the Delaware and other Algonquian remnants who were forced westward by the encroachment of European settlements on the Atlantic coast. In the year 1768 Great Island was partly occupied by the important Delaware village where Newoleeka, or Newahleeka, was chief. It was often mentioned in the history of the period. (Colonial Records of Pa., (1), p. 428 et seq.) Many implements and objects of native origin have been discovered in the region which, in the days before the coming of the colonists, was probably a favorite locality of the Indian, one where game and fish were plentiful and easily obtained. A view of the upper end of Great Island, taken from the high cliff bordering the river, is shown in plate 9, *b*. This was the site of the ancient village.

In southern Virginia the Nottoway and Meherrin were connected, linguistically, with the tribes just mentioned, being Iroquoian, as were the neighboring Tuscarora and possibly the Coree, likewise the powerful Cherokee, whose many villages were scattered through the valleys of the southern mountains. A very interesting description of the protected town of the Nottoway which stood in Southampton County, Virginia, is preserved, and it is evident the place had maintained its primitive appearance, unchanged, since the settlement of the colony. The Nottoway continued their tribal organization as late as 1825, though greatly reduced in numbers. The town was visited by Col. William Byrd on April 7, 1728, and was described thus:

"This fort was a square piece of ground, inclosed with substantial puncheons, or strong palisades, about ten feet high, and leaning a little outwards, to make scalade more difficult. Each side of the square might be about a hundred yards long, with loop-holes at proper distances, through which they may fire upon the enemy. Within this inclosure we found bark cabins sufficient to lodge all their people, in case they should be obliged to retire thither. These cabins are no other but close arbours made of saplings, arched at the top, and covered so well with bark as to be proof against all weather. The fire is made in the middle, according to the Hibernian fashion, the smoke whereof finds no other vent but at the door. . . The Indians have no standing furniture in their cabins but hurdles to repose their persons upon, which they cover with mats and deerskins." (Byrd, (1), pp. 34–35.)

This conformed with the custom of the northern Iroquois tribes where the strongly palisaded central village served as a place of refuge for the people of the outlying districts in times of danger. Not far distant from the town of the Nottoway stood, a few years before, the village of Paski, where during the month of October, 1711, De Graffenried halted when on his way to Virginia:

"That village was fortified with palisades and the houses or cabins were neatly made out of tree bark, they stood in a circle, and in midst of them was a beautiful round place, in its center a big fire, and around it the Council setting on the ground, that is the leaders of the Tuscoruros' nation." (De Graffenried, (1), p. 937.)

This reference, though brief, is of great interest, as it proves that within a short distance of one another stood both round and quadrangular inclosures, built by people of the same stock, though not of the same tribe. And it is remarkable how closely the description of the village of Paski conforms with the picture of Pomeioc; a circular palisade surrounding a number of bark-covered houses placed in a circle, a great fire in the middle of the open space, with a group of Indians gathered around.

During the war with the colonists the Tuscarora and their allies erected palisaded strongholds. In January, 1712, such a fort was built on the bank of the Neuse some 20 miles west of Newbern. This was taken by the whites on the 28th of the same month. The site is well known, and numerous arrow points and other objects of stone found there are thought by some to have been used and lost at the time of the encounter, although the Indians unquestionably had an ample supply of firearms.

The mat and bark covered habitations of the eastern tribes, in addition to the characteristic structures of the Iroquois, or Five Nations, were of two general types, the circular, dome-shaped wigwam, and the more quadrangular form with the arched roof. The latter was used throughout tidewater Virginia, and was clearly described by the early writers. It was likewise shown in White's drawings made of the villages standing in the northeastern corner of North Carolina in the summer of 1585. These were not far from the country of the Tuscarora, who, however, appear to have erected both types of dwellings. Soon after the beginning of the year 1701, Lawson "met with 500 Tuskereros in one Hunting Quarter. They had made themselves streets of houses built with Pine Bark, not with round tops as they commonly use, but Ridge Fashion, after the manner of most other Indians." (Lawson, (1), p. 32.) "Ridge Fashion," in this quotation, undoubtedly refers to the Virginia form of structure, the long arched roof described by the historians as resembling arbors in the English gardens. The dome-shaped habitations of the Carolina Indians—and the account refers more particularly to the Tuscarora and Coree—were described by Lawson (p. 105). They were usually covered with cypress bark, but when this was not to be had cedar or pine was used, the latter being considered the poorest. Many long saplings were cut, "at the thickest end of which they generally strip off the bark, and warm them well in the fire, which makes them tough and fit to bend; afterwards

they stick the thickest ends of them in the ground, above two yards asunder, in a circular form, the distance they design the Cabin to be (which is not always round but sometimes oval); then they bend the tops and bring them together and bind their ends with bark of trees, that is proper for that use, as Elm is, or sometimes the Moss that grow on the Trees . . . They have other sorts of Cabins without Windows, which are for the Granaries, Skins, and Merchandizes; and others that are covered overhead and the rest left open for air. These have reed Hurdles like Tables, to lie and sit on in summer, and serve for pleasant Banqueting Houses in the Hot Season of the Year. The Cabins they dwell in have Benches all around, except where the door stands. On these they lay Beasts-Skins and Mats made of Rushes, whereon they sleep and loll. In one of these several Families commonly live, though all related to one another."

Considering the size and importance of the Cherokee it is surprising how little is known regarding the appearance of their dwellings and other structures. But their villages were not compactly built, as among other tribes. The houses were widely scattered and were often far removed from the center of the community, or village, which was indicated by the town house. Unlike the Creeks, so Bartram wrote in 1789—

"They have neither the Square nor the Chunky-Yard. Their Summer Council House is a spacious open loft or pavilion, on the top of a very large oblong building; and the Rotunda, or great Hot or Town House, is the Council House in Cold seasons. Their private houses or habitations consist of one large oblong-square log building, divided transversely into several apartmants; and a round hothouse stands a little distance off, for a winter lodging-house." (Bartram, W., (1), pp. 56–57.)

A few years earlier it was said: "They build their houses with wood and ciel them with clay mixed with straw, so as to render them tight and comfortable. They have many small towns dispersed among the mountains." (Rogers, (1), p. 202.) The Cherokee and Creeks not only differed in the arrangement of the buildings but in the manner of their construction. The rectangular habitation of the Cherokee was one story in height, formed of logs "stripped of their bark, notched at their ends, fixed one upon another, and afterwards plaistered well, both inside and out, with clay well tempered with dry grass, and the whole covered or roofed with the bark of the chestnut tree or long broad shingles." (Bartram, W., (2), p. 365.) This was partitioned transversely and formed into three apartments, connected by doors. A few yards away from the house, opposite the main entrance, stood a small, conical, earth-covered lodge, known as the winter hothouse.

The Cherokee town of Cowe (*Kawi'yĭ*, Mooney) stood on the banks of the Little Tennessee, about the mouth of Cowee Creek, in the present Macon County, North Carolina, among the beautiful hills and valleys of the southern Alleghenies (pl. 10, *a*). When visited by Bartram in the spring of 1776, the town consisted of about 100 dwellings, and here was a town house large enough to allow several hundred persons to gather within. This occupied the summit of an artificial mound some 20 feet in height. The building rose 30 feet higher, making the peak of the roof 50 feet above the surrounding area. Bartram's description of this structure is of much interest (op. cit., pp. 366–367):

"They first fix in the ground a circular range of posts or trunks of trees, about six feet high, at equal distances, which are notched at top, to receive into them from one to another, a range of beams or wall plates; within this is another circular order of very large and strong pillars, above twelve feet high, notched in like manner at top, to receive another range of wall plates; and within this is yet another or third range of stronger and higher pillars, but few in number, standing at a greater distance from each other; and lastly, in the centre stands a very strong pillar, which forms the pinnacle of the building, and to which the rafters are strengthened and bound together by cross beams and laths, which sustain the roof or covering, which is a layer of bark neatly placed, and tight enough to exclude the rain, and sometimes they cast a thin superficies of earth over all. There is but one large door, which serves at the same time to admit light from without and the smoke to escape when a fire is kindled; but as there is but a small fire kept, sufficient to give light at night, and that fed with dry small sound wood divested of its bark, there is but little smoke. All around the inside of the building, betwixt the second range of pillars and the wall, is a range of cabins or sophas, consisting of two or three steps, one above or behind the other, in theatrical order, where the assembly sit or lean down; these sophas are covered with mats or carpets, very curiously made of thin splints of Ash or Oak, woven or platted together; near the great pillar in the centre the fire is kindled for light, near which the musicians seat themselves, and round about this the performers exhibit their dances and other shows at public festivals, which happen almost every night throughout the year."

The night of Bartram's visit the people had gathered in the town house at Cowe to "rehearse the ball-play dance." The town was to play against another on the next day.

The town house at Tellico, a Cherokee village in the present Monroe County, Tenn., stood on the summit of a mound 12 feet in height, which was in the midst of the old fields, near a bend of the Little Tennessee, not far from Cowe. The houses were falling apart, and

the whole had the appearamce of desolation. (Hawkins, B., (2), p. 112.) The structure at Tellico was probably similar to that at Cowe and Chote. All town houses of the Cherokee were probably much alike, differing only in size and minor details.

During the latter part of the year 1761 Lieut. Timberlake, of the British forces, while on a mission to the Cherokee, reached the important town of Chote, in the present county of Monroe, Tennessee, opposite the ruins of Fort Loudon. Here in the town house of Chote, "the metropolis of the country," gathered the head men of the neighboring towns "to hear the articles of peace read." This must have been one of the most important and largest buildings ever erected by the Cherokee, but in form it did not differ from that at Cowe, as the description will prove:

"The town-house, in which are transacted all public business and diversions, is raised with wood, and covered over with earth, and has all the appearance of a small mountain at a little distance. It is built in the form of a sugar loaf, and large enough to contain 500 persons, but extremely dark, having, besides the door, which is so narrow that but one at a time can pass, and that after much winding and turning, but one small aperture to let the smoke out, which is so ill contrived, that most of it settles in the roof of the house. Within it has the appearance of an ancient amphitheatre, the seats being raised one above another, leaving an area in the middle, in the center of which stands the fire; the seats of the head warriors are nearest it." (Timberlake, (1), p. 32.)

And Chote continued to be the "metropolis" of the nation for many years. Here the chief men would gather and deliberate, and here the representatives of the colonies, and later of the States, would come to meet the Cherokee in council. Letters now preserved in the Department of Archives, Virginia State Library, Richmond, shed much light on the Cherokee during the latter part of the eighteenth century. One of these letters, being of great historical interest, reads:

CHOTEE 19th Sep^{r} 1785–

SIR

Agreeable to your Excellencys Instructions I have been Very Attentive to the Indians Since July Last at which time I returned from Charlestown, at my arrival one of the principal [men] moved off and Several Families out of the different Towns. I never see them in such Confusion before. I have had Several Meetings with them in which time my old friend Oconstota who never forsook my Council died, their Confusion arose from the delay of the Treaty and the rapid Encroachments on their Lands. Several houses are Built within a Mile of their Towns. Together with the Talks from the differ^{t} Tribes of Indians some of which are now among them and More Expected Shortly. Their Council broke up yesterday which has been Sitting Six days. the old Tassel imforms [me] that the Wyandots Chief who is with them tells him that the Six Nations of Indians are at peace with Virg^{a} but all the other Tribes are at War, that the Shanees have been through the Different Tribes for their assistance who have promised to give it this fall and march a Large army against Kentuckey,

also the different parts of the frontiers of Virg[a] that the Shanees are to Lie Still till the Western Indians arrive at which time the[y] are to send Runners to the Cherokees Choctaws, Chickisaws & Creeks, with the war Hatchett, but he says he will not accept of it. they appear much Better Reconciled then they were some time past.—

I Divided What public goods was on hand among them & the Chickisaws who I sent for to these Towns & which had a wonderful Effect, tho after all my Exertions I fear the Chickamoggas will accept the war Hatchett.—I expect to set out for that quarter tomorrow and I beg leave to assure your Excellancy that nothing shall be Lacking on my part to keep them in good humour till the General Treaty which comes on with the Creeks the 24th of Next Month & with the Cherokees, Chickisaws & Chocktaws the 15th Nov[r] after Every thing is Settled with them I shall Hurry down to Richmond in order to Settle all my public accts."

The letter continues and refers to certain persons living among the Indians, and then closes. It was written by Joseph Martin and was addressed to "His Excellency Patrick Henry Esq[r] Governor of the State of Virginia."

Forwarded with the preceding letter was a document, part of which is now quoted:

CHOTEE 19th Septr 1785

BROTHER—

I am now going to Speak to you I hope you will hear me. I am an old man and almost thrown away by my Elder Brother—the ground I Stand on is very Slippery—tho I Still hope my Elder Brother will hear me and take pity on me. Aswe were all made by the Same great Being above we are the Children of the same parent—I therefore hope my Brother will hear me.

It then describes the encroachments of the whites on lands always acknowledged as belonging to the Cherokee, claimed and occupied by them, and refers to the coming treaty, then continues:

I once more Beg that our Elder Brother will Take pity on us and not take our ground from us because he is Stronger than we—the great Being above that made us all placed us on this Land and gave it to us and it is ours—our Elder Brother in all the Treaties we ever had gave it to us also and we hope he will not think of taking it from us now.

I have Sent with this Talk a String of White Beads which I hope my Elder Brother will take hold of and think of his younger Brother who is now in Trouble and Looking to him for Justice.

Given out by the Old Tassell for himself & whole Nation in presence of the headmen of the Upper & Lower Cherokees & Interpreted by me.

JAMES MCCORMACK
For the Governor of Virginia & North Carolina.

It is interesting to know that the string of white wampum which accompanied this is still preserved with the paper, now turned yellow with age. There are 29 beads on the string, all polished and worn, and these were evidently quite old even when sent from Chote, when the old men of the Cherokee were seeking justice for their people. These and other papers of a similar nature have recently been discovered by the State archivist, Morgan P. Robinson, and it is gratifying to know they will now be carefully preserved together with other

documents belonging to the days when Virginia had to treat with the Indians on its frontiers.

Such were the town houses, the council houses of the Cherokee, among the most interesting buildings reared by the native tribes. In general appearance they must have closely resembled the habitations of the Omaha, the Mandan, and other tribes of the upper Missouri Valley, although often much larger than the majority of the latter and of more elaborate interior construction.

While many of the towns stood on one side of the river, others are known to have occupied both banks of the stream. The settlement of Sinica (*I'sú'nigû*, Mooney) formerly stood on Keowee River, about the mouth of Conneross Creek, in the present Oconee County, South Carolina. It was visited by Bartram in May, 1776, at which time he wrote that it was "situated on the East bank of the Keowe river, though the greatest number of Indian habitations are on the opposite shore, where likewise stands the council-house, in a level plain betwixt the river and the range of beautiful lofty hills, which rise magnificently, and seem to bend over the green plains and the river: but the chief's house with those of the traders, and some Indian dwellings, are seated on the ascent of the heights on the opposite shore." (Bartram, W., (2), pp. 327–328.) This was a new town only recently built

The town house was the principal structure in the Cherokee villages, but among the neighboring Muskhogean tribes, as will be shown on the following pages, the town house, or "rotunda," was but one of a group of important buildings in each town.

As previously stated, the southern section of eastern United States, that is, the greater parts of Mississippi and Alabama, and wide regions of Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, and Tennessee, was claimed or actually occupied by Muskhogean tribes. The best known of these were the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and the numerous lesser tribes which were united as the Creek Confederacy. The Natchez, although distantly related, should probably be considered as belonging to this linguistic family. Occupying such a vast region, extending from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, and from the high mountainous country of the north to the swampy lowlands bordering the Gulf of Mexico (pl. 10, *b*, *c*), the different tribes developed distinct manners and customs, many being shown in the form and appearance of villages.

Although the Choctaw have been well known to Europeans for several generations, and their towns were visited by many who left accounts of colonial Louisiana, yet no clear description of a primitive Choctaw village is known to have been preserved. However, their settlements do not appear to have been compactly built, but were probably scattered over a wide area, in the midst of a virgin forest, each habitation with a small garden. Recently a brief though very

interesting description of their habitations has been discovered in an unpublished manuscript which evidently dates from the early part of the eighteenth century:

"Their house is nothing else than a cabin made of pieces of wood of the size of the leg, buried in the earth and fastened together with lianas, which are very flexible bands. These cabins are surrounded with mud walls without windows; the door is only from three to four feet in height. They are covered with bark of the cypress or the pine. A hole is left at the top of each gable-end to let the smoke out, for they make their fires in the middle of the cabins, which are a gunshot distance from each other. The inside is surrounded with cane beds raised from three to four feet from the ground."

Heavy skins, such as those of the bear, buffalo, or deer, served as coverings; others were spread upon the "cane beds." Their food was prepared in vessels of earthenware. This description, although quite ambiguous in detail, evidently refers to structures of wattlework (fig. 4), covered with clay in a plastic state, to which grass or Spanish moss had probably been added. While the preceding account was presented as a general description of Choctaw dwellings, it should be accepted as referring more particularly to those members of the tribe who lived away from the lowlands bordering the coast, acting on the belief that Choctaw lived along the shore of Lake Pontchartrain and eastward. According to the statements of several old Choctaw now occupying a few acres of land near Bayou Lacomb, which enters Lake Pontchartrain some 10 miles east of Mandeville, the primitive habitations of the "old people" who lived near the shore of the lake were of two forms, circular and rectangular. The frames were formed of small saplings, the tops and sides covered with palmetto thatch. Many of the circular structures were quite large and served as shelter for many persons. The single door usually faced the south. The fire was kindled on the ground within near the center, the smoke passing out through an opening made for the purpose in the center of the top or roof. Some examples of the rectangular thatched dwelling have been built and occupied within the past few years, one being shown in figure 5. This particular structure stood near Mandeville, St. Tammany Parish, on the north shore of Lake Pontchartrain, in 1879 (Bushnell, (3), p. 7). Some 20 miles east of Mandeville was the Choctaw settlement of Bonfouca, where Père Rouquette erected his first chapel during the year 1845. A part of this settlement as it was the next year is shown in plate 11, this being a reproduction of a painting made by Bernard, bearing the date 1846. This represents a group of women

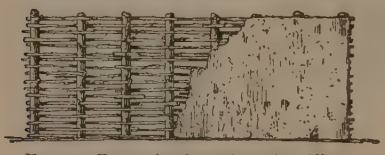

FIG. 4.—Example of wattlework. (From Handbook of American Indians.)

in the foreground, near a fire in the open. Others are gathered beneath the shelter on the left, while to the right of the door of the far cabin a woman is busily engaged with mortar and pestle, probably preparing *kombo ashish*. The use of the large carrying basket, the *kishé* of the Choctaw, is clearly indicated, and the group in the foreground may be engaged in preparing dyes and the materials for basket making, with strips of cane scattered on the ground. The open shelter was probably in use throughout the South and the one which stood at Bonfouca in 1846 was undoubtedly typical of all. It closely

FIG. 5.—Choctaw house of palmetto thatch.

resembled the houses of the Seminole as described on another page. This may have been the "summer house," so often mentioned.

Within the past few years traces of a settlement, or camp site, have been encountered on a slight ridge, a hundred yards or more from the shore of Lake Pontchartrain, about 12 miles northeast of New Orleans. Many bits of pottery are found mingled with the shells and sand, and human remains have been discovered. This may have been a landing place on the shore of the lake, where parties coming from the opposite side would encamp, or those returning would await favorable weather before attempting to cross.

In the year 1771 it was said the buildings of the Choctaw were "exactly similar to those of the Chicasaws." (Romans, (1), p. 83.)

This would indicate that each family had three separate structures—a summer house, a corn house, and a winter house. This again may refer to the northern part of the tribe, living in the neighborhood of the Chickasaw. The same writer left a very interesting statement regarding the small temporary shelters erected by the southern tribes when away from their villages. He wrote of the Muskhogean people (p. 65):

"A Choctaw makes his camp in travelling in form of a sugar loaf; a Chicasaw makes it in form of our arbours; a Creek like to our sheds, or piazzas, to a timber house; in this manner every nation has some distinguishing way."

Similar customs as they existed among the Narraganset, the Algonquian tribes of Virginia, the northern Iroquois, and others, have already been cited.

In the vicinity of Lake Pontchartrain lived several Muskhogean tribes whose connection with the Choctaw proper has not been clearly determined. All appear to have been closely allied, possibly forming a confederation of tribes similar to that of the Creek confederacy in early times. Among these were the Acolapissa, Tangipahoa, and others. A village of the former tribe then standing on the left bank of the Mississippi a short distance above New Orleans was visited by Charlevoix January 4, 1722, at which time he wrote:

"This is the finest in all Louisiana, though there are not above two hundred warriors in it, who, however, have the reputation of being very brave. Their cabbins are in the form of a pavilion . . . They have a double covering, that within being a tissue of the leaves of Lataniers trees, and that without consists of Matts. The chief's cabbin is thirty-six feet in diameter: I have not hitherto seen any of a larger size, that of the chief of the Natchez being no more than thirty." (Charlevoix, (1), II, p. 285.)

Much has been written regarding the Natchez, one of the most interesting of the native American tribes, and the greater part of the available material has been gathered and presented in a single volume (Swanton, (1)). The Natchez settlements, at one time nine in number, lay scattered along the course of St. Catherines Creek, a few miles from the left bank of the Mississippi, on the eastern edge of the present city of Natchez. The dwellings were evidently widely dispersed and did not form a compact group. One village, the home of the great Sun, probably served as the center of the nation. This was the stopping place of Charlevoix on December 25, 1721, when he prepared a brief description of the town (op. cit., II, p. 256):

"The cabbins of the great village of the Natchez, the only one I have seen, are in the form of square pavilions, very low, and without windows. Their roofs are rounded pretty much in the same manner as an oven. Most of them are covered with the leaves and straw of

maiz. Some of them are built of a sort of mud, which seemed tolerably good, and is covered outside and inside with very thin mats. That of the great chief is rough cast very handsomely in the inside: it is likewise larger and higher than the rest, being placed in a more elevated situation, and has no cabbins adjoining to it. It fronts a large square, which is none of the most regular, and looks to the north. All the moveables I found in it were a bed of planks very narrow, and raised about two or three feet from the ground; probably when the chief lies down he spreads over it a matt, or the skin of some animal. . . . These cabbins have no vent for the smoke, notwithstanding those into which I entered were tolerably white. The temple stands at the side of the chief's cabbin, facing the east, and at the extremity of the square. It is built of the same material, with the cabbins, but of a different shape, being an oblong square, forty feet in length, and twenty in breadth, with a very simple roof, in the same form as ours. At each extremity there is something like a weather-cock of wood, which has a very coarse resemblance of an eagle. The gate is in the middle of the length of the building, which has no other opening: on each side there are seats of stone. What is within is quite correspondent to this rustic outside. Three pieces of wood, joined at the extremity, and placed in a triangle, or rather at an equal distance from one another, take up almost the whole middle space of the temple, and burn slowly away. An Indian, whom they call keeper of the temple, is obliged to tend them, and to prevent their going out. If the weather is cold he may have a fire for himself, for he is not allowed to warm himself at this, which burns in honour of the sun . . . Ornaments I saw none, nor anything indeed which could inform me that this was a temple. I saw only three or four boxes lying in disorder, with a few dry bones in them, and some wooden heads on the ground, of somewhat better workmanship than the eagles on the roof. In short, if it had not been for the fire, I should have believed this temple had been deserted for some time, or that it had been lately plundered."

The structure designated the temple was the most important building in the village. As should be expected, the various early descriptions of the Natchez village did not always agree in detail, but it is possible to form a rather clear conception of their appearance. According to Du Pratz, who gave a vivid account of the method of constructing the houses, all the cabins were perfectly square, none less than 15 feet each way, and some 30 or more feet on a side. Hickory saplings about 4 inches in diameter were placed firmly in the ground at the four corners. Others, probably smaller, were arranged about 15 inches apart in lines between the corner posts, forming the walls of the structure. Poles were then fastened on the inside of these in a horizontal position, bound and held by split canes. The four corner poles, which

were as much as 20 feet in length, were bent inward, thus meeting in the center of the frame, and were fastened. The poles along the sides were likewise bent in and so secured to the four principal supports. The frame was then covered with a "mortar of mud mixed with *Spanish* beard, with which they fill up all the chinks, leaving no opening but the door, and the mud they cover both outside and inside with mats made of the splits of cane. The roof is thatched with turf and straw intermixed, and over all is laid a mat of canes, which is fastened to the tops of the walls by the creeping plant. These huts will last 20 years without any repairs." (Du Pratz, (1), II, pp. 224–225.)

Within the habitations raised platforms, a foot or more above the ground, served as sleeping places. These were covered with heavy skins during the cold season, and often with mats during the summer. Bags filled with Spanish moss were used on the beds. Low stools were seen by Du Pratz but were seldom used. Surrounding the houses were fields of corn, their principal food. The corn was pounded and crushed in wooden mortars, formed by hollowing sections of trees. Pottery vessels of many forms were made, some of sufficient size to hold 15 quarts. Little now remains to mark the sites of the settlements of these interesting people who, at the time of the first coming of the French, ranked as one of the most important tribes of the lower Mississippi Valley.

Near the northeastern corner of the present State of Mississippi, in the vicinity of the headwaters of the Yazoo and Tombigbee Rivers, about the region now included in Union and Pontotoc Counties, lived the Chickasaw, ever enemies of the neighboring Choctaw, although speaking the same language and having many customs in common. Writing of the Chickasaw in 1771, Romans said:

"They live nearly in the center of a very large and somewhat uneven savannah, of a diameter of above three miles. . . They have in this field what might be called one town or rather an assemblage of hutts, and very narrow and irregular; this however they divide into seven, by the names of *Melattaw* (i. e.) hat and feather, *Chatelaw* (i. e.) copper town, *Chukafalaya* (i. e.) long town, *Hikihaw* (i. e.) stand still, *Chucalissa* (i. e.) great town, *Tuckahaw* (i. e.) a certain weed, and *Ashuck hooma* (i. e.) red grass; this was formerly inclosed in palisadoes, and thus well fortified against the attacks of small arms, but now it lays open." (Romans, (1), pp. 62–63.)

Among the Chickasaw each family had a group of three buildings, instead of the single structure usually claimed by an Indian family. This was likewise the practice among the Creek, who, however, often added a fourth, a storehouse. Romans described the houses of the Chickasaw as they were in 1771 (op. cit., p. 67):

"Their habitations at home consist of three buildings, a summer house, a corn house, and a winter house, called a hot house; the two

first are oblong squares, the latter is circular, they have no chimnies but let the smoke find its way out through a hole at the top in their dwelling houses, but in the hot houses, where it can, in these they make large wood fires, on the middle of the floor, which being by evening all coals, they enter it, and sleep on benches made round the inside of the building."

As Romans remarked, the buildings of the Choctaw were "exactly similar to those of the Chickasaw," this description should therefore apply to the houses of both tribes, especially to the northern Choctaw living near the Chickasaw.

James Adair, who spent many years as a trader among the southern Indians, and whose work treats principally of the Chickasaw among whom he lived the greater part of the time, has left a detailed account of the manner in which they constructed their different houses. (Adair, (1), pp. 417–421.) The whole village aided in the work, "and frequently the nearest of their tribe in neighboring towns, assist one another. . . In one day, they build, daub with their tough mortar mixed with dry grass, and thoroughly finish, a good commodious house. They first trace the dimensions of the intended fabric, and every one has his task prescribed him after the exactest manner. . . . For their summer houses, they generally fix strong posts of pitch-pine deep in the ground, which will last for several ages."

The posts being of equal height were notched to hold the wall plates. A larger post was then placed in the middle of each gable end, and another in the center of the house to mark the position of the partition. The frame was completed by using many small split saplings and some larger logs, all of which were secured by tying. The outside was made of "pine, or cypress clap-boards, which they can split readily; and crown the work with the bark of the same trees, all of a proper length and breadth, which they had before provided."

The covering was held in place by split saplings, tied to the frame at the ends.

"They provide themselves for the winter with hot-houses . . . To raise these, they fix deep in the ground, a sufficient number of strong forked posts, at a proportional distance, in a circular form, all of an equal height, about five or six feet above the surface of the ground: above these, they tie very securely large pieces of the heart of white oak, which are of a tough flexible nature, interweaving this orbit, from top to bottom, with pieces of the same, or the like timber. Then in the middle of the fabric they fix very deep in the ground, four large pine posts, in a quadrangular form, notched a-top, on which they lay a number of heavy logs, let into each other, and rounding gradually to the top. Above this huge pile, to the very top, they lay a number of long dry poles, all properly notched, to keep strong hold of the under posts and wall-plate. Then they weave them thick with their

split sapplings, and daub them all over about six or seven inches thick with tough clay, well mixt with withered grass: when this cement is half dried, they thatch the house with the longest sort of dry grass that their land produces. They first lay on one round tier, placing a split sappling a-top, well tied to different parts of the under pieces of timber, about fifteen inches below the eave: and, in this manner, they proceed circularly to the very spire, where commonly a pole is fixed, that displays on the top the figure of a large carved eagle. At a small distance below which, four heavy logs are strongly tied together across, in a quadrangular form, in order to secure the roof . . . The door of this winter palace, is commonly about four feet high, and so narrow as not to admit two to enter it abreast, with a winding passage for the space of six or seven feet, to secure themselves both from the power of the bleak winds, and of an invading enemy. As they usually build on rising ground, the floor is often a yard lower than the earth, which serves them as a breast work against an enemy: and a small peeping window is level with the surface of the outside ground . . . in the fall of the year, as soon as the sun begins to lose his warming power, some of the women make a large fire [within the house] . . . When the fire is a little more than half burned down, they cover it over with ashes."

During the night the occupants of the beds or couches would reach with long canes and "strike off some of the top embers," thus keeping a glowing surface exposed. The fire would usually die out about the break of day. The same author (p. 421) refers to the council house, one in every town, "the only difference between it, and the winter house or stove, is in its dimensions, and application. It is usually built on the top of a hill; and, in that separate and imperial state house, the old beloved men and head warriors meet on material business, or to divert themselves, and feast and dance with the rest of the people."

It is remarkable how similar is Catlin's description of the earth-covered structures of the Mandan, as seen by him during the early part of the last century, and the preceding account by Adair of the appearance and construction of the winter house of the Chickasaw. It is difficult to believe they did not have a common origin, and although the Mandan were then living far beyond the limits of the region treated in the present paper, nevertheless Catlin's description should be quoted as it will tend to make more clear the origin of certain sites to be mentioned on another page.

The great village of the Mandan stood on a high point on the west bank of the Missouri. The point was at a bend of the river which thus protected it on three sides, and Catlin wrote:

"They have therefore but one side to protect, which is effectually done by a strong piquet, and a ditch inside of it, of three or four feet

in depth. The piquet is composed of timbers of a foot or more in diameter, and eighteen feet high, set firmly in the ground at sufficient distance from each other to admit of guns and other missils to be fired between them."

The structures within the protected area were very close together—

"They all have a circular form, and are from forty to sixty feet in diameter. Their foundations are prepared by digging some two feet in the ground, and forming the floor of earth, by leveling the requisite size for the lodge. The floors or foundation are all perfectly circular . . . The superstructure is then produced, by arranging, inside of this circular excavation, firmly fixed in the ground and resting against the bank, a barrier or wall of timbers, some eight or nine inches in diameter, of equal height (about six feet) placed on end, and resting against each other, supported by a formidable embankment of earth raised against them outside; then, resting upon the tops of these timbers or piles, are others of equal size and equal in numbers, of twenty-five feet in length, resting firmly against each other and sending their upper or smaller ends towards the center and top of the lodge; rising at an angle of forty-five degrees to the apex or sky-light, which is about three or four feet in diameter, answering as a chimney and a sky-light at the same time. The roof of the lodge being thus formed, is supported by beams passing around the inner part of the lodge about the middle of the poles or timbers, and themselves upheld by four or five large posts passing down to the floor of the lodge. On the top of, and over the poles forming the roof, is placed a complete mat of willow boughs, of half a foot or more in thickness, which protects the timbers from the dampness of the earth, with which the lodge is covered from bottom to top, to the depth of two or three feet; and then with a hard or tough clay which is impervious to water, and which with long use becomes quite hard." (Catlin, (1), I, pp. 81–82.)

A circular excavation some 4 or 5 feet in diameter, a foot or more in depth and curbed with stones, made in the center of the floor of the structure, served as the fireplace. Beds were formed by stretching buffalo skins over frames of poles lashed securely together. These extended around the inside wall and each was curtained by skins, some of which were elaborately painted, others being decorated with quillwork. These beds are quite suggestive of the "cabins" seen by Dickenson in the great round houses which stood in the villages on the coast north of St. Augustine during the autumn of 1699, and which are described on another page.

The earth lodge was erected by many of the plains tribes, including the Pawnee, and in plate 12 is reproduced a very remarkable photograph of a Pawnee village made about 50 years ago. The great town houses of the southern tribes undoubtedly resembled these structures, although some seem to have had a thatch of grass outside the

earth covering. Some of the more ancient villages in the lower Mississippi Valley may have resembled the Pawnee village of half a century ago.

It is quite evident the town houses of the southern tribes in early times stood on the summit of artificial mounds which had been erected for the purpose. This was certainly true among the Cherokee and Creeks, and probably among the Chickasaw. Seldom were the villages of the southern tribes compactly built. The separate dwellings or groups of structures which constituted the unit were often widely scattered, surrounded by their own fields and gardens. In such instances the town house became the center of the community, the gathering place for the people, just as the courthouse serves as the rallying place in rural districts. The custom of erecting the town house on the summit of an artificial mound may have been inaugurated through a desire to elevate the structure above the level of the water in time of flood, as many of the towns stood on the lowlands along water courses. In this connection it is more than probable the occurrence of one or more mounds at widely separated places along the southern rivers indicate the site of a former village, and while slight traces now remain of the towns, which are undoubtedly quite extensive, many including a hundred or more houses, it is easily conceived that such a condition would have resulted from the freshets which have swept away practically all signs of the former settlement.

A century or more ago the towns of the Creek confederacy were numerous throughout the country they then occupied. The confederacy, formed of many small tribes and remnants and parts of others, as a whole, was the largest division of the Muskhogean linguistic family. The towns of the Upper Creeks were in the valleys of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, streams which unite a short distance above the city of Montgomery, Alabama. The Lower Creeks were farther southeast on the Chattahoochee and Flint Rivers. Of the Lower Creek towns Cussetah was one of the most important, and possibly one of the most ancient, as its name has been identified in the narrative of De Soto's expedition in 1540. It stood on the left bank of the Chattahoochee, a few miles below the present city of Columbus, Georgia. A description of the town as it was in 1820 proves it to have been an important center:

"It appears to consist of about 100 houses, many of them elevated on poles from two to six feet high, and built of unhewn logs, with roofs of bark, and little patches of Indian corn before the doors. The women were hard at work, digging the ground, pounding Indian corn, or carrying heavy loads of water from the river: the men were either setting out to the woods with their guns, or lying idle before the doors; and the children were amusing themselves in little groups

. . . In the center of the town, we passed a large building, with a conical roof, supported by a circular wall about three feet high: close to it was a quadrangular space, enclosed by four open buildings, with rows of benches rising above one another: the whole appropriated, we were informed, to the Great Council of the town, who meet, under shelter, or in the open air, according to the weather. Near the spot was a high pole, like our May-poles, with a bird at the top, round which the Indians celebrate their Green-Corn Dance. The town or township of Cosito is said to be able to muster 700 warriors." (Hodgson, (1), p. 265.)

At this time the village had lost much of its primitive aspect, but the *rotunda*, "a large building with a conical roof," had evidently retained its ancient form. Here stood two rather large artificial mounds, one circular, the other rectangular, relics of earlier days when the former was probably surmounted by the great round structure, the winter council house. The site of this once large settlement has been cultivated for many years; the two ancient mounds have been worn down by the plow and soon will have disappeared. No traces remain of the many houses, the public square, and the larger building which served to bound it. A few objects of stone and small fragments of pottery are found scattered over the surface—all that marks the position of the once important town of Cussetah, and what is true concerning this ancient site is equally true of many others throughout the country between the Mississippi and the Atlantic.

In the preceding account of Cussetah as it was a century ago is a reference to "a quadrangular space, enclosed by four open buildings." This was the Public Square, so characteristic of the Creek towns. As described by Bartram in 1789:

"The Public Square of the Creeks consists of four buildings of equal size, placed one upon each side of a quadrangular court. The principal or Council House is divided transversely into three equal apartments, separated from each other by a low clay wall. This building is also divided longitudinally into two nearly equal parts; the foremost or front is an open piazza, where are seats for the council. The middle apartment is for the king (*mico*), the great war chief, second head man, and other venerable and worthy chiefs and warriors. The two others are for the warriors and citizens generally. The back apartment of this house is quite close and dark, and without entrances, except three very low arched holes or doors for admitting the priests. Here are deposited all the most valuable public things, as the eagle's tail or national standard, the sacred calumet, the drums, and all apparatus of the priests. Fronting this is another building called the 'Banqueting House;' and the edifices upon either hand are halls to accommodate the people on public occasions, as feasts, festivals, etc. The three buildings last mentioned are very much alike

and differ from the Council House only in not having the close back apartment." (Bartram, W., (1), pp. 53–54.)

The relative positions of the three principal features of the Creek towns, the "Chunky-Yard, Public Square, and Rotunda," as arranged in the "modern Creek towns," was shown by the accompanying plan made by Bartram in 1789 (fig. 6). In this *A* represents the public square, with the four buildings. *B* "the Rotunda; *a*, the door opening toward the square; the three circular lines show the two rows of seats, sofas, or cabins; the punctures show the pillars or columns which support the building; *c*, the great central pillar, or columns surrounded by the spiral fire, which gives light to the house." *C* represents a part of the chunky yard. Now, while this was the plan as followed in later times, the earlier arrangement was different, having the chunky yard between the other units of the group.

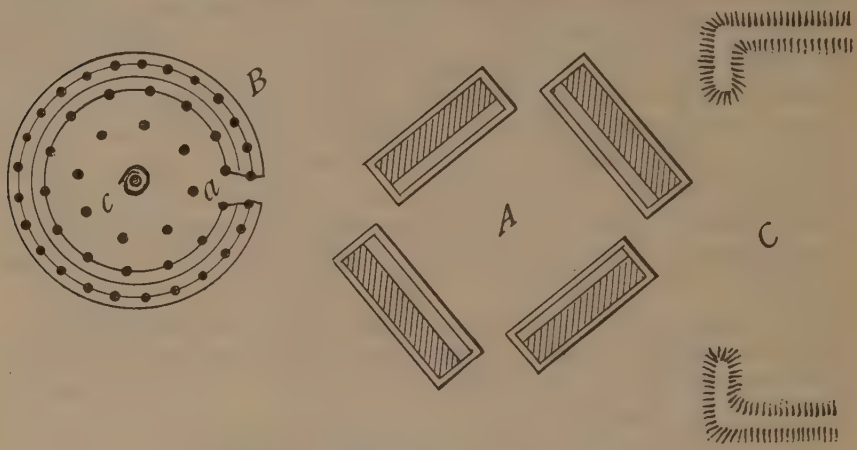

FIG. 6.—Principal structures of a Creek town in 1789.

Bartram's sketch of the older method is reproduced in figure 7. It was described thus (p. 52):

"*A*, the great area, surrounded by terraces or banks. *B*, a circular eminence, at one end of the yard, commonly nine or ten feet higher than the ground round about. Upon this mound stands the great *Rotunda, Hot House*, or *Winter Council House*, of the present Creeks. It was probably designed and used by the ancients who constructed it, for the same purpose. *C*, a square terrace or eminence, about the same height with the circular one just described, occupying a position at the other end of the yard. Upon this stands the *Public Square*. The banks inclosing the yard are indicated by the letters *b*, *b*, *b*, *b*; *c* indicates the '*Chunk-Pole*,' and *d*, *d*, the '*Slave-Posts*.' Sometimes the square, instead of being open at the ends . . . is closed upon all sides by the banks. In the lately built [1789], or new Creek towns, they do not raise a mound for the foundation of their Rotundas or

Public Squares. The yard, however, is retained, and the public buildings occupy nearly the same position in respect to it. They also retain the central obelisk and the slave-posts."

Following this description of the more ancient towns, it appears quite evident that the large circular mound on the site of Cussetah was occupied by the *rotunda*, while the four buildings inclosing the public square stood on the summit of the large rectangular work, and the space between the artificial mounds was covered by the chunky yard. Cussetah should probably be accepted as having been a typical Creek town, presenting features characteristic of many villages in the valleys of the Flint and Chattahoochee, Coosa, and Tallapoosa; the villages of the Chickasaw may have been quite similar. A concise description of the manner of constructing a great circular house has been preserved. (Hawkins, B., (1), pp. 71–72.) It was called by the Creeks *Chooc-ofau thluc-co*, and by the traders was known as the "hot-house."

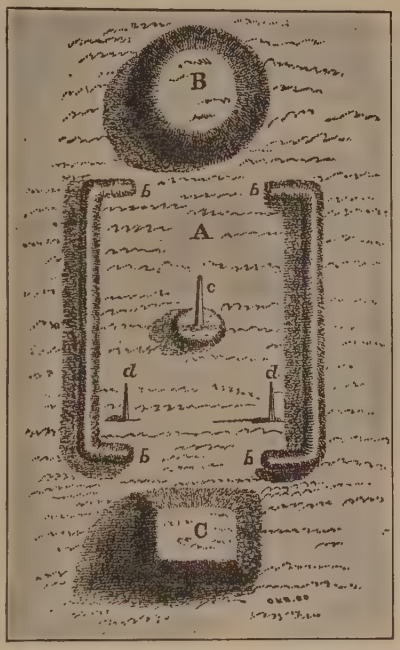

FIG. 7.—Older method of placing the principal structures in a Creek town.

"Eight posts are fixed in the ground, forming an octagon of thirty feet diameter. They are twelve feet high, and large enough to support the roof. On these, five or six logs are placed, of a side, drawn in as they rise. On these, long poles or rafters, to suit the height of the building, are laid, the upper ends forming a point, and the lower ends projecting out six feet from the octagon, and resting on posts five feet high, placed in a circle round the octagon, with plates on them, to which the rafters are tied with splits. The rafters are near together, and fastened with splits. These are covered with clay, and that with pine bark; the wall, six feet from the octagon, is clayed up; they have a small door into a small portico, curved round for five or six feet, then into the house. The space between the octagon and the wall, is one entire sopha, where the visiters lie or sit at pleasure. It is covered with reed, mat or splits. In the center of the room, on a small rise, the fire is made, of dry cane or dry old pine slabs, split fine, and laid in a spiral circle. This is the assembly room for all people, old and young; they assemble every night, and amuse themselves with dancing, singing, or conver-

sation. And here, sometimes, in very cold weather, the old and naked sleep. In all transactions which require secrecy, the rulers meet here, make their fire, deliberate and decide."

The peculiarity of a fire of split canes, "laid in a spiral circle," as mentioned in the preceding description, attracted the attention of Bartram. As witnessed by him, many pieces of split cane, about 2 feet in length, were prepared, "then placed obliquely crossways upon one another on the floor, forming a spiral circle round about the great centre pillar, rising to a foot or eighteen inches in height from the ground; and this circle spreading as it proceeds round and round, often repeated from right to left, every revolution encreases its diameter, and at length extends to the distance of ten or twelve feet from the centre, more or less, according to the length of time the assembly or meeting is to continue. By the time these preparations are accomplished, it is night, and the assembly have taken their seats in order. The exterior extremity or outer end of the spiral circle takes fire and immediately rises into a bright flame (but how this is effected I did not plainly apprehend; I saw no person set fire to it; there might have been fire left on the hearth, however I neither saw nor smelt fire or smoke until the blaze instantly ascended upwards), which gradually and slowly creeps round the centre pillar, with the course of the sun, feeding on the dry canes, and affords a cheerful, gentle and sufficient light until the circle is consumed, when the council breaks up." (Bartram, W., (2), pp. 449–450.)

This was certainly a singular manner of adding warmth and light to the interior of the council house, and the same writer remarked in another work ((1), p. 27.):

"The *Spiral Fire,* on the hearth or floor of the Rotunda, is very curious; it seems to light up in a flame of itself at the appointed time, but how this is done I know not."

The four structures bounding a typical Creek town "square" were clearly described by Hawkins, who wrote about the year 1800. All were of equal size, covering a space of about 40 by 16 feet, 8 feet pitch, of one story, "the entrance at each corner. Each building is a wooden frame, supported on posts set in the ground, covered with slabs, open in front like a piazza, divided into three rooms, the back and ends clayed, up to the plates. Each division is divided lengthwise, into two seats; the front, two feet high, extending back half way, covered with reed mats or slabs; then a rise of one foot, and it extends back, covered in like manner, to the side of the building. On these seats they lie or sit at pleasure."

The structure facing the east was the "*Mic-co's cabin,*" the center apartment always being occupied by the village chief, or Mico, and here would be received the chiefs of other towns, the Indian agent,

and others of note. The division on the right was occupied by the principal counsellors, the "Mic-ug-gee," and that on the left by the "E-ne-hau Ul-gee," *people second in command.* Facing the south was the warrior's cabin.

"The head warrior sits at the west end of his cabin, and in his division the great warriors sit beside each other. The next in rank sit in the centre division, and the young warriors in the third."

On the south side of the square, facing north, stood the "cabin of the beloved men." These are great men who, by reason of notable deeds, have become advisers or counsellors of the chief and sit in the south division of his cabin. "The family of the Mic-co, and great men who have thus distinguished themselves, occupy this cabin of the beloved men." The fourth building facing the square, that on the east, was the "*cabin of the young people and their associates.*" (Hawkins, B., (1), pp. 68–71.)

As previously mentioned, Cussetah stood on the left bank of the Chattahoochee a short distance below the present city of Columbus, Georgia. On the opposite side of the stream, about 3 miles below the falls facing Columbus, was the ancient village of Coweta. A fishing station on the left bank of the river at the foot of the falls belonged to the people of Coweta, but the lands from there southward to Cussetah were claimed by the latter. Coweta was visited by Governor Oglethorpe in 1740 and a brief account of the town was recorded in a journal kept by a member of the expedition, the original manuscript being in the British Museum. From it the following extracts were made:

"Their Houses or Hutts are built with Stakes and Plaistered wth clay Mixed with Moss which makes them very warm and Tite. They dress their Meat in Large pans made of Earth and not much unlike our Beehives in England."

The night of the arrival of the English at Coweta they were entertained by the chief men, by whom they were conducted to "the Square to see the Indians dance. They dance round a large Fire by the beating of a small Drum and six men singing, their dress is very wild & frightful, their faces painted with several sorts of colours, their hair cut short except three locks one of w^{ch} hangs over their Forehead like a horses fore top. They paint the short Hair and stick it full of Feathers. They have Bells and rattles about their Waist and several things in their hands. Their dancing is of divers Gestures and Turnings of the Bodies in a great many frightful Postures. The women are mostly naked to the waist wearing only one short Peticoat w^{ch} reaches to the Calves of their Legs." (Bushnell, (4), p. 573.)

The towns of the Creek confederacy were either "war towns" or "peace towns," and while Coweta belonged to the former class the

Hitchiti town of Apalachicola, on the left bank of the river some miles southward, belonged to the latter. Visited by Bartram, it was described as being "the mother town or Capital of the Creek or Muscogulge confederacy: sacred to peace; no captives are put to death or human blood spilt here. And when a general peace is proposed, deputies from all the towns in the confederacy assemble at this capital. . . And on the contrary the great Coweta town . . . is called the bloody town, where the Micos, chiefs, and warriors assemble when a general war is proposed; and here captives and state malefactors are put to death." (Bartram, W., (2), p. 387.)

At this time the town had already become less important than in earlier days, and Bartram "viewed the mounds or terraces, on which formerly stood their town house or rotunda and square or areopagus," while near by was an "extensive oblong square yard or artificial level plain," evidently the ancient chunky yard. Bartram places this town 12 miles below Coweta but Hawkins ((1), p. 64) shows it to have been at least 22 miles below the falls.

A log house, as constructed by the Creeks toward the close of the eighteenth century, is shown in plate 13. This is after Schoolcraft, who referred to it as "The Creek house in its best state of native improvement in 1790." The original drawing was made by J. C. Tidball, U. S. A. (Schoolcraft (1), V, p. 394.)

Homes among the Creeks did not always consist of a single house but usually of a group of four structures, and this was clearly described by Bartram when speaking of the chief of "the town of the Apalachians," that is, the Hitchiti town of Apalachicola, previously mentioned. Bartram wrote:

"His villa was beautifully situated and well constructed. It was composed of three oblong uniform frame buildings, and a fourth, four-square, fronting the principal house or common hall, after this manner, encompassing one area. The hall was his lodging house, large and commodious; the two wings were, one a cook-house, the other a skin or ware-house; and the large square one was a vast open *pavilion*, supporting a canopy of cedar roof by two rows of columns or pillars, one within the other. Between each range of pillars was a platform, or what the traders call cabins, a sort of sofa raised about two feet above the common ground, and ascended by two steps; this was covered with checkered mats of curious manufacture, woven of splints of canes dyed of different colors; the middle was a four-square stage or platform, raised nine inches or a foot higher than the cabins or sofas, and also covered with mats. In this delightful airy place we were received." (Bartram, W., (1), pp. 37–38.)

The plan accompanying this account is reproduced in figure 8. This "villa" was probably far more elaborate than the majority of

Creek homes, but in general arrangement it was evidently quite similar to many others. Whether the custom was very ancient may never be known, and to what extent it prevailed among the Lower Creek towns has not been ascertained, but it was the regular custom at Kulumi, a town of the Upper Creeks which formerly stood on the right bank of the Tallapoosa, in Montgomery County, Alabama, and undoubtedly the structures in the many neighboring villages were similarly placed. Kulumi, the Coolome of Bartram's narrative, stood on the bank of the Tallapoosa. The "new town," the building of which had very lately been completed, stood on the west side of the stream, while on the opposite side were the old fields and a few Indian habitations marking the position of "old Coolome town." Regarding the buildings of the "new town," it was said:

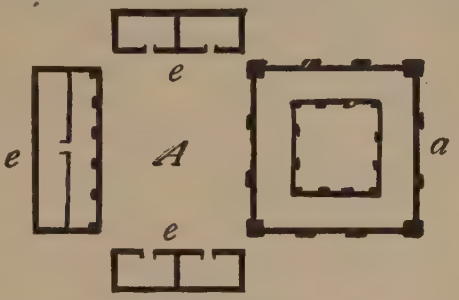

FIG. 8.—Home of the chief at Apalachicola.

"Their houses are neat commodious buildings, a wooden frame with plaistered walls, and roofed with Cypress bark or shingles; every habitation consists of four oblong square houses, of one story, of the same form and dimensions, and so situated as to form an exact square, encompassing an area or court yard of about a quarter of an acre of ground, leaving an entrance into it at each corner. Here is a beautiful new square or areopagus, in the centre of the new town." (Bartram, W., (2), p. 395.)

Leaving Kulumi, he continued up the river to Atasi, which stood on the left bank of the stream in the present Macon County, Alabama. The evening of his arrival, together with many traders, he went to the "great rotunda" and here were assembled "the greatest number of ancient venerable chiefs and warriors" he had ever seen together. There they remained the greater part of the night, drinking cassine and smoking tobacco. The rotunda was "a vast conical building or circular dome, capable of accommodating many hundred people." It was constructed and furnished within as were similar structures among the Cherokee, but much larger than any he had seen among the latter tribe. There were "people appointed to take care of it, to have it daily swept clean, and to provide canes for fuel, or to give light." (Bartram, W., (2), p. 449.)

On the right bank of the Tallapoosa, a short distance above Kulumi, was the ancient town of Tukabatchi, occupying a level valley about 2½ miles below the falls. Hawkins stopped here on December 16, 1796, and entered in his journal: "I this day paid a visit to the

old men at the town house and partook with them of the black drink. I then visited the falls and lands adjoining to the town. The falls are at 2½ miles above the town house." (Hawkins, B., (2), p. 37.) It was at Tukabatchi that Tecumseh, in 1811, met the chiefs of the Upper Creeks and endeavored to persuade them to join in the proposed war against the Americans. When he realized that he had not succeeded in his designs he is said to have remarked: "I leave Tuckhabatchee directly, and shall go straight to Detroit; when I arrive there, I will stamp on the ground with my foot, and shake down every house in Tuckhabatchee." (Drake, (1), p. 144.) This caused fear and consternation among the people of the nation, and it is remarkable that later in the year occurred the great earthquake in the central portion of the Mississippi Valley, and it is evident the shocks were felt as far as Tukabatchi, where the houses were shaken down. To the Indian mind there was a direct connection between the threat made by Tecumseh and the natural phenomenon.

The custom of whitewashing the various structures was evidently quite general among the southern Indians, and several materials were used, including decayed shells, white clay, and in later days lime was prepared by burning oyster and clam shells. To what extent the houses were otherwise decorated is not known, although it was done among the Creeks and probably followed to some degree by the other tribes of the region. Bartram, when replying to a question respecting this phase of art among the Indians, wrote:

"The paintings which I observed among the Creeks were commonly on the clay-plastered walls of their houses, particularly on the walls of the houses comprising the *Public Square* . . . The walls are plastered very smooth with red clay, then the figures or symbols are drawn with white clay, paste, or *chalk;* and if the walls are plastered with clay of a whitish or stone color, then the figures are drawn with red, brown, or bluish chalk or paste." (Bartram, W., (1), p. 18.) The drawings represented many forms of animal and plant life.

During the eighteenth century many families removed from the Lower Creek towns, on the Flint and Chattahoochee Rivers, to Florida, and so became known as the Seminole, a name derived from the Creek word meaning "separatist" or "runaway." Later they were joined by others from the Upper Creeks, and soon established many settlements, first in the northern and central parts of the peninsula, gradually moving southward seeking refuge among the vast swamps in the region about Lake Okeechobee.

The town of Cuscowilla, which, in the year 1774, stood near the shore of the lake of that name, in the present Alachua County, Florida, was an important and probably typical Seminole village.

Described as it was at that time it was said that it "contains about thirty habitations, each of which consists of two houses nearly the same size, about thirty feet in length, twelve feet wide, and about the same in height. The door is placed midway on one side or in the front. This house is divided equally, across, into two apartments, one of which is the cook room and common hall, and the other the lodging room. The other house is nearly of the same dimensions, standing about twenty yards from the dwelling house, its end fronting the door. This building is two stories high, and constructed in a different manner. It is divided transversely, as the other, but the end next the dwelling house is open on three sides, supported by posts or pillars. It has an open loft or platform, the ascent to which is by a portable stair or ladder; this is a pleasant, cool, airy situation, and here the master or chief of the family retires to repose in the hot seasons, and receives his guests or visitors. The other half of this building is closed on all sides by notched logs; the lowest or ground part is a potatoe house, and the upper story over it a granary for corn and other provisions. Their houses are constructed of a kind of frame. In the first place, strong corner pillars are fixed in the ground, with others somewhat less, ranging on a line between; these are strengthened by cross pieces of timber, and the whole with the roof is covered close with the bark of the Cypress tree. The dwelling stands near the middle of a square yard, encompassed by a low bank, formed with the earth taken out of the yard, which is always carefully swept." (Bartram, W., (2), pp. 189–191.)

Cuscowilla became the principal town of the group of settlements whose inhabitants were considered as forming the Alachua tribe, and who were very active in the Seminole war during the years from 1835 to 1842. The town visited by Bartram in 1774 was then known as the new town, and the name Cuscowilla had been applied to it. "The ancient Alachua on the borders of the savanna" had been abandoned by reason of the unhealthfulness of the locality. The new town had a "public square or council-house," where the chief men gathered to conduct important business. In many respects the town resembled the later villages of the Creeks, but the buildings were fewer in number, and some had been combined and arranged to serve various purposes.

The recent Seminole dwellings, as they have stood among the Everglades of southern Florida within the present generation, but which undoubtedly perpetuate an ancient form of native structure, differ from any known to have been built by the Creeks, and they may have been derived by the newcomers from some remnants of the native tribes, of whom so little is known.

A typical house standing in the Everglades in the year 1880 (pl. 14, *b*), measuring about 16 feet in length and 9 feet in width, was thus described:

"It is actually but a platform elevated about three feet from the ground and covered with a palmetto thatched roof, the roof being not more than 12 feet above the ground at the ridge pole or 7 at the eaves. Eight upright palmetto logs, unsplit and undressed, support the roof. Many rafters sustain the palmetto thatching. The platform is composed of split palmetto logs lying transversely, flat sides up, upon beams which extend the length of the building and are lashed to the uprights by palmetto ropes, thongs, or trader's ropes. This platform is peculiar, in that it fills the interior of the building like a floor and serves to furnish the family with a dry sitting or lying down place when, as often happens, the whole region is under water. The thatching of the roof is quite a work of art: inside, the regularity and compactness of the laying of the leaves display much skill and taste on the part of the builder; outside—with the outer layers there seems to have been less care taken than with those within—the mass of leaves of which the roof is composed is held in place and made firm by heavy logs, which, bound together in pairs, are laid upon it astride the ridge." (MacCauley, (1), p. 500.)

The structure just described, open on all sides and without a partition, was one of three similar buildings, which stood "at three corners of an oblong clearing," about 40 by 30 feet in extent. In one of the three houses the platform was only half the size of the others, the ground thus left uncovered being used as a hearth, although in dry weather, when it was not necessary to remain under shelter, the fire was usually made in the open space between, or rather surrounded by the three buildings.

Like the great majority of the native tribes of eastern United States, these, living at the farthest point southward, had a custom of erecting a temporary lodge or shelter when away from their permanent settlements. These evidently differed in form. Some resembled "wall tents and others like single-roofed sheds," but all appear to have been formed of a framework covered with palmetto. A sketch of a shelter encountered by MacCauley at Horse Creek is reproduced in plate 14, *a*. A raised platform near the lodge served as a place for depositing food, utensils, and other possessions of the people.

In the preceding reference to the placing of three separate buildings "at three corners of an oblong clearing," it is interesting to trace the custom of the Seminole back through several generations to their old homes on the Chattahoochee. Three or four separate structures were there grouped about a small open space, each group being the home of a family, but the houses were of a more substantial nature and furnished far more protection to the occupants, nevertheless the

simple covered platforms found among the Everglades were well suited to the climate and natural environment of the southern country.

Muskhogean tribes extended eastward to the coast and unquestionably the Guale, of Spanish narratives, were of this stock. Their home was among the low islands and the adjacent mainland—the coast of the present State of Georgia. Here they were probably living in the early years of the sixteenth century, when visited by the Spanish explorers, who left a rather vague description of certain large structures seen by them.

"There are some principal houses along that coast each one of which must have been intended among that people for a village, because they are very large and are made of very tall and very graceful pines; and above they leave their limbs and leaves, and after they leave a row or rank of pines as a wall and another at the other end (i. e. side), leaving between a width of fifteen or thirty feet from one row to the other, and a length of perhaps three hundred or more feet. The limbs join above, and so there is no need of roof or covering, and yet they cover the whole upper part with mats very well placed, interwoven in the openings or prospects between the said pines, and within there are other pines crosswise to the surface of the first, which double the thickness of the wall. So the mud wall remains thick and strong, because the timbers are near together: and in each of these said houses there may well be or be contained two hundred men, and live in them." Other structures were mentioned having "walls of lime and stone (which lime they make of shells of sea oysters) and these are one and one-half times as high as a person, and the rest of that height one and one-half times that of a person is of pine timbers, of which there are many." (Oviedo, (1), III, pp. 630–631.)

These were evidently long, narrow structures, erected among the pines, which served as natural supports. The dimensions given may not be correct, nevertheless such extensive houses could have been reared by the native tribes and would not have differed greatly in size from the longest of the communal dwellings seen in early days among the Five Nations. The walls were constructed of wattle covered with clay which was applied in a plastic state and allowed to dry and harden. The branches of the bordering pines served as a natural roof or covering, but this was evidently augmented by "mats," probably a thatch laid over a light framework. Whether this was in reality a great communal dwelling, as among the Iroquois, or served the purpose of the large, circular town house of later generations, may never be known, but in later years the latter form was encountered among the Guale, in their village along the coast northward from St. Augustine.

On September 29, 1699, Jonathan Dickenson, a member of a party whose vessel had been cast ashore far down the coast of Florida several months before, left St. Augustine and soon reached the Indian village of Santa Cruz. Here, so he wrote, "we were directed to the Indian warehouse [fig. 9.]. It was built round, having 16 squares and on each square a cabin built and painted, which would hold two people, the house being about 50 feet diameter; and in the middle of the top was a square opening about 15 feet. This house was very clean; and fires being ready made near our cabin, the Spanish captain made choice of cabins for him and his soldiers and appointed us our cabins. In this town they have a Friar and a large

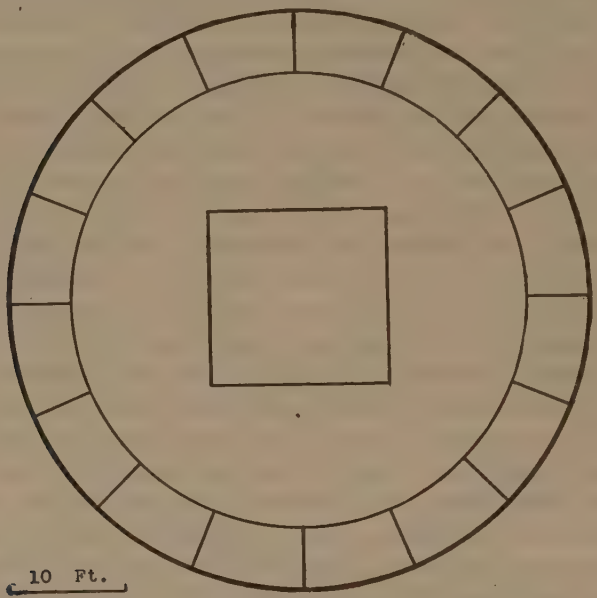

FIG. 9.—Plan of the interior of the "Indian warehouse" at Santa Cruz, drawn from Dickenson's description. The square represents the opening in the roof.

house to worship in, with three bells; and the Indians go as constantly to their devotions at all times and seasons, as any of the Spaniards. Night being come and the time of their devotion over, the Friar came in, and many of the Indians, both men and women, and they had a dance according to their way and custom. We had plenty of Casseena drink, and such victuals as the Indians had provided for us, some bringing corn boiled, others pease; some one thing, some another; of all which we made a good supper, and slept till morning."

Continuing northward, the town of St. Marys, on the extreme southeastern point of Georgia, was reached October 2, 1699. And

here "we were conducted to the ware house [fig. 10], as the custom is, every town having one: we understood these houses were either for their times of mirth and dancing, or to lodge and entertain strangers. The house was about 31 feet diameter, built round, with 32 squares; in each square a cabin about 8 feet long, of a good height, painted and well matted. The center of the building is a quadrangle of twenty feet, being open at the top, against which the house is built. In this quadrangle is the place they dance, having a great fire in the middle. In one of the squares is the gate way or passage . . . This was the largest town of all, and about a mile from it was another called St. Philip's." (Dickenson, (1), pp. 90–93.)

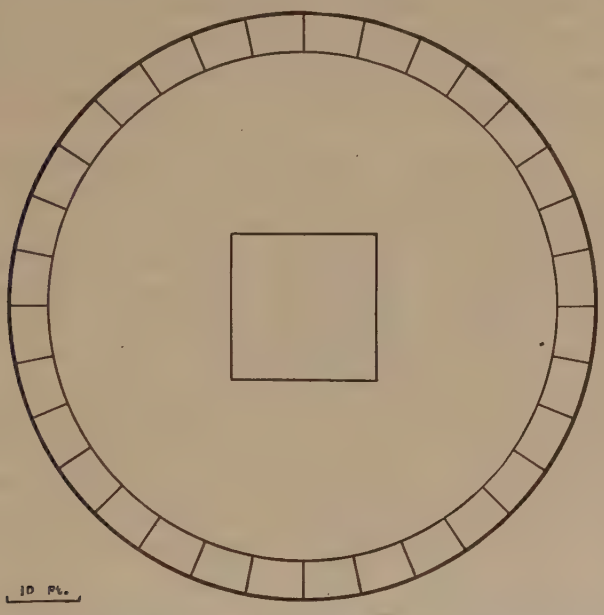

FIG. 10.—Plan of the "warehouse" at St. Marys, October 2, 1699, as suggested by Dickenson's description. The square shows opening in the roof.

The narrative continues: "We understood that the Carolina Indians, called the Yammasees, which are related to these Indians, were here about a month before, trading for skins." The Yamasi were at that time living (p. 105) "about two or three days' rowing from Charleston," southward.

These large circular structures at once suggest the "rotundas" of the Creeks, and the town houses that existed among the Chickasaw and Cherokee. However, they were probably of lighter construction and had a much larger opening in the center of the roof or covering. The house at Santa Cruz was described as being 50 feet in diameter and having the circular wall divided into 16 sections, or "squares," each of which was occupied by a "cabin," the latter meaning berth or

sleeping place. The "cabins" were probably separated from one another by mat partitions, with other mats covering the ground. Assuming the diameter to have been correctly given, each of the 16 divisions would have been 9 or 10 feet in length against the wall. The similar structure at St. Marys was evidently much larger, the wall space being divided into 32 sections, one of which served as the entrance while each of the others, 31 in number, contained a "cabin" or berth about 8 feet in length. The diameter of this house was given as 31 feet, but this was evidently an error and should have read 81. A house of this size and form could readily have been built by the native tribes, as a structure 80 feet or more in diameter, with an open space some 20 feet square in the center of the covering, would have reduced the maximum expanse of the roof to about 30 feet. A roof of these dimensions and having several supports could easily have been constructed in a locality where long, slender pines were plentiful.

About 20 years ago the remains of an ancient structure were discovered in a shell mound standing on Little Island, on the left, or north, side of Broad River, about 20 miles from the ocean, in Beaufort County, South Carolina. This would have been within the limits of the country occupied by the Yamasi at the time of Dickenson's narrative. The mound was elliptical in outline and measured about 150 feet from north to south and 100 feet from east to west. Its height was 14 feet. The remains of the structure were encountered in the north half of the mound. They were of a building having four walls with rounded corners, the entrance being at the southeast corner. A plan of the house is reproduced in figure 11. It averaged about 41 feet from east to west and 36 feet from north to south, being rather irregular. The walls were about 4 feet 3 inches in height, and had a maximum thickness near the top of 5 inches. The walls had been made of wattlework covered with clay, and although the wood had long ago rotted away the impressions of the posts and connecting pieces remained.

"The uprights varied in diameter from 3½ to 6 in. and projected 6 to 8 in. above the top of the wall. Some left molds in the clayey sand above the shell, indicating considerable enlargement around the top. . . The uprights, which were from 14 to 19 in. apart, were held together by twelve parallel circular cross-pieces, probably vines, each about 3/10 of an inch in diameter, surmounted by a circular stringer about 1 in. in diameter, over which the clay had been turned and rounded. At places marks in the clay plainly showed where the cross-pieces and the stringer had been attached to the uprights, probably by vines. . . . At irregular distances, usually but not always between consecutive uprights, on the top of the wall, were semicircular depressions from 2 to 4 in. in diameter, which had undoubt-

edly held ends of poles serving as rafters. . . . There were present in the floor of the structure numerous circular holes representing ends of former supports, some of which probably upheld the roof." Near the center of the floor was a large firebed, six feet in diameter; east of it was a mass of clay "like a seat, circular with rounded top, 9 in. in height and 1 ft. 4 in. in diameter." The skeleton of a child was found fourteen inches below the floor, a short distance southeast of the central fireplace. Evidently the shell and clay mound had

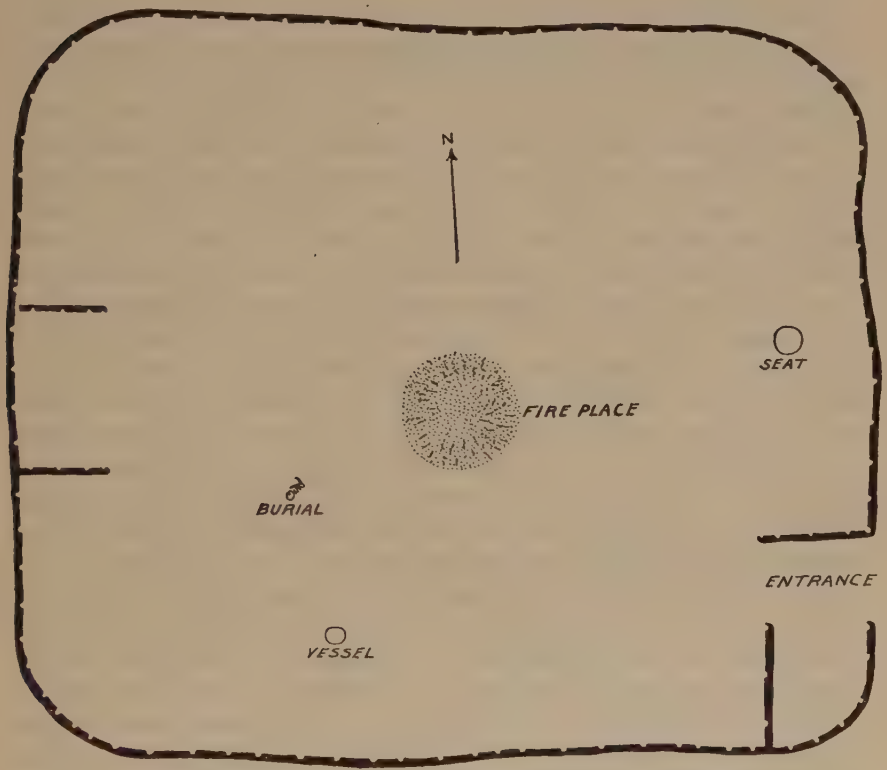

FIG. 11.—Plan of a n ancient structure in Beaufort County, South Carolina.

been intentionally raised over the ancient house. (Moore, (1), pp. 152–162.)

Few objects were discovered in the mound, or associated with the ruin, and nothing of European origin was encountered, therefore there is no way to approximate the age of the ancient structure, which may, however, belong to the period of the long house of Oviedo, and they may not have been many miles apart. Ruins of other structures may be covered by some of the many shell mounds scattered along the coast, to be revealed at some future time.

The tribe or tribes of southern Florida, whose identification and connection linguistically with other tribes has not been determined,

but who may have been Muskhogean, occupied the coast in the year 1699, and their villages were encountered by Dickenson and his ill-fated party as they moved northward to St. Augustine, during the late summer and autumn of that year. (Dickenson, (1).) The references to the native habitations which are found in the narrative of the shipwreck are all too brief, but they are of the greatest interest. On July 25, 1699, the party reached a native village which evidently stood on the north side of Jupiter Inlet, and this was described (p. 17) as being composed of—

"little wigwams made of small poles stuck in the ground, which they bent one to another, making an arch, and covering them with thatch of small Palmetto leaves. . . . We were directed to a wigwam, which afterwards we understood to be the Cassekey's (cacique); it was about a man's height to the top, and herein was the Cassekey's wife and some old women, sitting on a cabin made with sticks, about a foot high, covered with a mat; and they made signs for us to sit down on the ground which we did." As previously mentioned the term "cabin," as used in this narrative, referred to a small space within the house which was probably partitioned off by mats. In this instance it was occupied by a raised platform and covered with a mat, serving as a sleeping place at night. Five days later, July 30, 1699, Dickenson had advanced as far as the north side of Indian River Inlet, where they discovered an Indian settlement. The house of the chief was about forty feet in length and twenty-five feet in width, formed of a framework and covered on sides and top with palmetto leaves. "There was a range of cabins on one side and two ends; at the entering on one side of the house, a passage was made of benches on each side leading to the cabins; on these benches sat the chief Indians, and at the upper end of the cabin was the Cassekey seated. . . . The Indians were seated as aforesaid, the Cassekey at the upper end of them, and the range of cabins was filled with men, women and children, beholding us. . . . In one part of this house, where a fire was kept, was an Indian man, having a pot on the fire wherein he was making a drink of a shrub, which we understood afterwards by the Spanish is called Casseena. . . . The drink when made cool to sup, was in a shell first carried to the Cassekey" (p. 33).

They next arrived at the village of Jece, some 10 or more miles north of the inlet and about one-half mile from the shore, surrounded by a swamp (pp. 45–46). Here, during the night of August 4, 1699, occurred a violent storm. The wind blew from the northeast and rain fell in torrents. "The king's house was knee deep with water and like to continue rising; I removed with my wife, child, Robert Barrow, and Benjamin Allen to an Indian house that stood on a hill of oyster shells, and in this house we remained the whole day." The wind blew steadily from the northeast and the waters flooded

the lowlands and that night continued to rise until it reached the house, which soon "was afloat." The storm raged the following day and "the houses were almost blown to pieces and the Indians were often tying and mending them." Interesting indeed is this reference to "a hill of oyster shells," which may have indicated the position of an even more ancient settlement, but it was not surmounted by the house of the chief of the village or by any structure resembling a "town house," or a "temple," as would have been the custom among the majority of southern tribes. Here the chief's dwelling stood on low ground, easily reached by the flood.

Surviving this midsummer storm, the party resumed their journey northward and a few days later they reached a locality which appears to have been a short distance beyond Mosquito Inlet, probably on the mainland not far from the present village of Ormond, Volusia County. Going ashore (pp. 70–71), they found the "place was an old Indian field on a high bleak hill, where had been a large Indian house, but it was tumbled down." This had probably been the site of a Timucuan town, and villages said to have been standing not far away may have been occupied by remnants of this people. (Pl. 15, *a*, *b*.)

When the Timucuan tribes became known to Europeans, through the discoveries of Ponce de Leon, who landed near the site of the present city of St. Augustine in the year 1513, they occupied many villages scattered across the northern part of the peninsula from the Atlantic to the Gulf. On the Atlantic coast they extended northward to Cumberland Island, on the present Georgia coast, and consequently claimed both banks of the St. Marys. Much information respecting the manners and customs of these people has been derived from the notes and drawings prepared by Le Moyne. (Le Moyne, (1).) Two of the latter are reproduced in plate 16, being copied from the engravings as presented in part 2 of De Bry's great collection of voyages in 1591. Plate 16, *a*, appeared as plate 22 in Le Moyne's narrative and there bore the legend: "There are in that region a great many islands, producing abundance of various kinds of fruits, which they gather twice a year and carry home in canoes and store up in roomy low granaries built of stone and earth and roofed thickly with palm branches and a kind of soft earth fit for the purpose." Evidently the illustration shows one of the "granaries," but how true either the drawing or legend may be remains a question not easily determined. The materials of which this structure was said to have been formed at once recall the rather vague reference in Oviedo to houses having "walls of lime and stone," encountered within this region a generation earlier. The walls in both instances may have been formed of fragmentary pieces of coquina, easily secured at certain places along the coast, and which might readily have been considered by the early writers to have been artificially prepared. The

roof was undoubtedly thatched with palmetto, which was extensively used for this purpose wherever it was obtainable.

A palisaded town is shown in plate 16, *b*, a reproduction of Le Moyne's plate 30. A part of the descriptive text accompanying the illustration reads:

"The chief's dwelling stands in the middle of the town and is partly underground in consequence of the sun's heat. Around this are the houses of the principal men, all lightly roofed with palm branches, as they are occupied only nine months in the year, the other three . . . being spent in the woods. When they come back, they occupy their houses again; and if they find the enemy has burnt them down, they build others of similar materials."

It is difficult to reconcile the preceding statements with a contemporary description of the dwellings of the same people, but it is possible that "the chief's dwelling" of Le Moyne's account and the large structure in the following narrative of Hawkins's voyage referred to great houses similar to the "warehouses" mentioned by Dickenson as standing in the country of the Guale on the same coast in the year 1699. Early in the year 1565 the English reached the coast of Florida and soon arrived at the mouth of the River of May, the present St. Johns, and near by discovered a native village, thus briefly described in the narrative:

"Their houses are not many together, for in one house an hundred of them do lodge; they being made much like a great barne, and in strength not inferiour to ours, for they have stanchions and rafters of whole trees, and are covered with palmito-leaves, having no place divided, but one small roome for their king and queene. In the middest of this house is a hearth, where they make great fires all night, and they sleepe upon certaine pieces of wood hewen in for the bowing of their backs, and another place made high for their heads, which they put one by another all along the walles on both sides." (Hawkins, J., (1), pp. 516–517.)

Unfortunately the form of the structure was not mentioned, but it was probably round, with one entrance and a large opening in the center of the roof. The small space partitioned off for the use of the chief was probably as described, although different from any custom prevailing among the Muskhogean tribes. Likewise the wooden head rests, and larger rests for the back, were not found among the tribes to the northward but suggest a southern culture.

On the Gulf coast of Florida, extending northward from the vicinity of Tampa Bay to the Ocilla River, were other Timucuan tribes. One of their villages, Ucita by name, stood on the shores of the bay, and near it, on Friday, May 30, 1539, landed the Spanish forces under the command of Don Ferdinando de Soto. The town

was briefly described, the following account being quoted from the narrative of the expedition "written by a Gentleman of Elvas:"

"They came to the towne of Ucita, where the Governour was, on Sunday the first of June, being Trinitie Sunday. The towne was of seven or eight houses. The lordes house stoode neere the shore, upon a very hie mount, made by hand for strength. At another end of the towne stood the church, and on the top of it stood a fowle made of wood, with gilded eies. Here were found some pearles of small valew, spoiled with the fire, which the Indians do pierce and string them like beades, and weare them about their neckes and handwrists, and they esteeme them very much. The houses were made of timber, and covered with palme leaves." (Elvas, (1), pp. 25–26.)

In this translation the word "temple" should be substituted for "church." Two structures different from the ordinary habitations stood in this ancient village: one the temple, the other described as "the lordes house," the chief's dwelling, or it may have resembled the town house, or rotunda, of the more northerly tribes. In addition to these were five or six simple dwellings. This may have been a typical village of the time and region, and the most interesting reference to the erection of the chief's dwelling on the summit of an artificial mound, erected for the purpose, suggests the probable origin and use of other mounds standing along the coast.

Southward from Tampa Bay lived the Calusa, of whom very little is known. The tribe, or tribes, mentioned under this name in the early Spanish and French records probably occupied or dominated the lower half of the peninsula, reaching from the southern keys to the boundary of the territory of the Timucuan tribes. As nothing is now known of the language of the Calusa it is not possible to trace their connection, if any existed, with the neighboring villages. They are described by the old writers as a brave and warlike people, and as they are said to have had nearly fifty settlements about the year 1567 they must have been comparatively numerous. Many of their towns were probably near the coast, where, among the marshes and shallow inlets, on the mainland though often on the low keys, were great mounds of sand and shells which served as elevated sites for their habitations and other structures. These were often connected by extensive artificial canals or lagoons, and were surrounded by the luxuriant semitropical vegetation of the region, by which they are now covered and hidden from view. While many of these elevations may be considered accidental shell heaps, either cast up by the sea or resulting from the gathering of mollusks for food, others were intentionally raised as elevated sites, as was the mound at Ucita. Some of the mounds, artificial or natural, served as places of burial, but do not appear to have been erected for that purpose.

they rub the head, temple and other parts, which is reckon'd a preserver of the sight, and strengthener of the Brain."

Continuing their journey through the wilderness they soon reached the town of the Saponi, on the banks of the Yadkin, in the vicinity of the present Salisbury, near the center of the State of North Carolina. The village was protected by palisades, but the houses were not described, although it was said that near the town (p. 25) "within their cleared land are several Bagnios, or Sweating Houses, made of stone in shape like a large oven." These were quite different from the light, quickly made structures encountered among the Waxsaw. The night the party rested at Saponi the entire palisade was blown down by a violent wind from the northwest. They next arrived at "the Keyauwee's Town," which was protected by palisades similar to those surrounding the Saponi village. The Keyauwee town was, as suggested by Mooney, about 30 miles northeast of the Yadkin, in the neighborhood of the present High Point, Guilford County, North Carolina.

From these meager references to certain settlements it is possible to visualize the general appearance of towns among the eastern Siouan tribes. Many of the villages were protected by encircling palisades, and within the most prominent structure was the round town house, or "theater," of Lawson. Surrounding this were the dwellings of the people, and these probably resembled the "arbour-like" structures of the neighboring Algonquian tribes.

The Siouan tribes of the far south—that is, the Biloxi and the neighboring Pascagoula and Moctobi of the Gulf coast region, and the Ofo, or Ofogoula, whose home was in the valley of the Yazoo, in the present State of Mississippi—appear to have followed the general custom of the people of the southern country and erected houses of wattle, covered with clay in a plastic state. The principal villages were protected by "palings" or palisades, and if the description of the Biloxi village visited by Iberville in 1700 is to be accepted as accurate, and if it was a typical village of the time and region, then the method of surrounding and protecting a group of dwellings was far more secure and complicated in the south than among the northern tribes.

During the spring of the year 1700 Iberville discovered the ruins of the Biloxi town on the bank of the Pascagoula, about 20 miles above its mouth, and wrote of it (Margry, (1), IV, pp. 425–426):

"The village is abandoned, the nation having been destroyed two years ago by sickness. Two leagues below this village one begins to find many deserted spots quite near each other on both banks of the river. The savages report that this nation was formerly quite numerous. It did not appear to me that there had been in this village more than from thirty to forty cabins, built long, and the

roofs, as we make ours, covered with the bark of trees. They were all of one story of about eight feet in height, made of mud. Only three remained; the others are burned. The village was surrounded by palings eight feet in height, of about eighteen inches in diameter. There still remain three square watch-towers (*guerites*) measuring en feet on each face; they are raised to a height of eight feet on posts; the sides made of mud mixed with grass, of a thickness of eight inches, well covered. There were many loopholes through which to shoot their arrows. It appeared to me that there had been a watch-tower at each angle, and one midway of the curtains (*au milieu des courtines*); it was sufficiently strong to defend them against enemies that have only arrows." (Quoted from Dorsey-Swanton, (1), p. 6.)

Whether these comparatively small tribes had "town houses" within their villages, as did others, is not known; but it is evident their dwellings were rather long and narrow, probably quite similar to the "oblong-square" structures of the Chickasaw and Choctaw, and although speaking a different language and differing to a certain degree in manners and customs the villages of these small tribes may have resembled those of their more powerful neighbors.

The Winnebago, the detached Siouan tribe whose home was in the central part of the State of Wisconsin, had many customs in common with their Algonquian neighbors. Their villages were similar in appearance. A painting of a settlement of the Winnebago, made by Capt. Eastman and reproduced in Schoolcraft ((1), II, pl. 23), is here shown as plate 17.

Next to be mentioned are the Yuchi, of whose early history very little is known. But there is reason to suppose that they were at one time a numerous people, whose home, at the time of the coming of the Spaniards, was among the mountains, possibly neighbors of the Cherokee. They moved from place to place, evidently appearing in early records under various names, and finally settled in the valley of the Savannah, where they were later met by Europeans.

In 1729 a chief of the Lower Creek town of Cussetah, on the Chattahoochee, married three Yuchi women, and a few years later, having gathered about him many families from the latter tribe, settled a new town some miles below at the mouth of Uchee Creek, in the present Russell County, Alabama. This village was visited by Bartram early in July, 1776, at a time when such memorable events were transpiring in his home city, Philadelphia, and he said of it:

"The Uche town is situated in a vast plain, on the gradual ascent as we rise from a narrow strip of low ground immediately bordering on the river: it is the largest, most compact and best situated Indian town I ever saw; the habitations are large and neatly built; the walls of the houses are constructed of a wooden frame, then lathed

and plaistered inside and out with a reddish well tempered clay or mortar, which gives them the appearance of red brick walls; and these houses are neatly covered or roofed with Cypress bark or shingles of that tree. . . . Their own national language is altogether or radically different from the Creek or Muscogulge tongue. . . . They are in confederacy with the Creeks, but do not mix with them; and, on account of their numbers and strength, are of importance enough to excite and draw upon them the jealousy of the whole Muscogulge confederacy, and are usually at variance, yet are wise enough to unite against a common enemy, to support the interest and glory of the general Creek confederacy." (Bartram, W., (2), pp. 386–387.)

The "town house," and probably the greater part of the settlement, stood on the right bank of the river, and in 1799 Hawkins wrote:

"Opposite the town house, on the left bank of the river, there is a narrow strip of flat land from fifty to one hundred yards wide, then high pine barren hills; these people speak a tongue different from the Creeks; they were formerly settled in small villages at Ponpon, Saltketchers, (Sol-ke-chuh,) Silver Bluff, and O-ge-chee, (How-ge-chu,) and were continually at war with the Cherokees, Ea-tau-bau and Creeks." (Hawkins, B., (1), pp. 61–62.)

How interesting would be a lengthy description of these ancient villages, with an account of the manners and customs of the people; but none is known to exist.

The Tunican is the last of the seven linguistic groups to be mentioned. Although one of the smaller stocks during historic times they may, in earlier days, have been far more numerous and powerful. When encountered by the early French explorers, the Tunica claimed land on both banks of the Mississippi, their principal village being at one time on the banks of the Yazoo, sometime known as "the river of the Tounika," a short distance from its confluence with the Mississippi, in the present Warren County, Mississippi.

When the Jesuit, Père Gravier, descended the Mississippi late in the autumn of 1700, he rested at the mission which had been established near the group of villages a short distance above the mouth of the Yazoo. He described the habitations of the Tunica as being "round and vaulted," and they evidently resembled the houses of the Natchez, being "lathed with canes and plastered with mud from bottom to top, within and without, with a good covering of straw." The door was the only opening, and a small "lighted torch of dried canes" furnished sufficient heat to cause the interior to be "as hot as a vapor bath." Within all was neat and clean, their beds being arranged on posts 3 feet above the floor, and covered with mats formed of split canes. Near the dwellings were granaries "made like dovecotes, built on four large posts, 15 or 16 feet high, well put

together and well polished, so that the mice can not climb up, and in this way they protect their corn and squashes." (Gravier, (1), p. 135.)

Charlevoix, during his journey down the Mississippi, arrived at the Tunica village December 28, 1721. This, however, was not on the site of the village visited by Gravier some 20 years before. The town was built about a square "about a hundred paces in diameter." The dwellings were of two forms, round and square, the former as "at the Natchez." The house of the chief was square and was decorated with "figures in relief, not so badly executed as one would expect." (Charlevoix, (1), II, pp. 279–280.) Evidently there was a great similarity in the appearance of the villages of the different tribes who, at the time of the coming of Europeans, occupied the lower Mississippi Valley. The method of construction was evidently the same throughout the region, the principal variation being in the form and size of the various structures.

In some parts of the Mississippi Valley the sites of ancient villages are indicated by groups of earth circles—seldom squares—each evidently marking the position of a separate structure. The dimensions would correspond favorably with the sizes of dwellings and "town houses" as recorded by the early writers and quoted on the preceding pages. Two suggestions may be offered in regard to the origin or cause of these traces of former habitations. First, they may represent the mass of earth which served as the covering for the framework, the wall, and in some instances the roof, of the structure. After the building had fallen to ruin, and the timbers rotted away, the earth covering would have remained, probably a circular embankment. The second theory has been suggested by known customs among the Siouan tribes of the upper Missouri Valley. When fearing an attack or seeking additional protection for the occupants of the tipis, a slight excavation was made within the tipi and the earth thus removed was placed around the inside of the structure. This explains the origin of large clusters of small circles in the country once occupied by the Siouan tribes through the valley of the Missouri. This custom is known to have been followed as late as September, 1862, during the Sioux uprising in southwestern Minnesota. When the site was abandoned, and the tipi removed, the excavation would gradually become filled with particles of earth and sand carried by the winds and by the growth and decay of vegetation. As the result of this filling in, the surface which served as the floor when the tipi stood over the excavation has become covered, consequently traces of former occupancy, such as the fire beds and bits of broken pottery, are found below the present surface. This may explain the origin of certain of the smaller circles encountered east of the Mississippi. One of the

most interesting groups stands on McKee Island, in the Tennessee River, a short distance above Guntersville, Marshall County, Alabama. A ridge extends the length of the island, and—

"Along the middle part of the ridge are various sites once occupied by wigwams, all circular so far as we could determine, except one which was square. The sites were marked by depressions and had been surrounded by small embankments, but as the ground had been under cultivation in the past, exact measurements were not obtainable. . . One of our circular depressions, 32 feet in diameter, was 11 inches below the surrounding level, which perhaps included part of the original embankment. Digging in this site disclosed a fireplace, about centrally situated, made up of three layers of burnt clay, showing that the level of the fireplace had been raised from time to time. . . . The largest site, 52 feet square, was 1 foot 8 inches below the level around it." (Moore, (2), p. 282.)

As the area occupied by this ancient village site had been under cultivation the small embankments must necessarily have become somewhat spread, therefore the measurements given must be greater than the size of the circles and square at the time they were made.

A group of small circles in Wilson County, Tennessee, was examined and the interesting discovery was made that within some were stone-lined graves. This corresponds with the known custom of some Muskhogean tribes of depositing the remains of the dead in graves beneath the floor of their dwelling, which they continued to occupy. Such was the habit among the Chickasaw, within whose territory the present county of Wilson may have been included, and this group may mark the site of an early village of this tribe.

Quite similar to the site on McKee Island was another discovered on the summit of a bluff some 60 feet in height, overlooking Barren River, in Barren County, Kentucky. Here 16 lodge sites could be traced, "partly raised on the outer rim and depressed in the center. In the center of each, a foot beneath the surface, were found coales, the grain of the wood being easily distinguished as oak and poplar. The diameters of these rings average about 18 feet in diameter." (Evans, (1), p. 609.)

These had evidently not been touched by the plow, and therefore remained nearly in their original condition, although the cavity within the circle had been partly filled through natural causes. This group bears a very strong resemblance to those existing in the upper Missouri Valley.

Other groups of circles have been discovered north of the Ohio, one being on the bank of Clear Creek, Union County, Illinois. Here the village site, as indicated by the circles, is surrounded by an embankment.

"The 'hut rings' or small circular depressions surrounded by slight earthen rings . . . are scattered irregularly over the wooded portion of the inclosure, the number exceeding 100. They vary in diameter from 20 to 50 feet, and in depth from 1 to 3 feet and are often but a few feet apart." (Thomas, (1), pp. 155–159.)

Another site described by the same writer stands in Brown County, Illinois, about 3 miles west of Perry Springs Station. Here (p. 119) "the dwelling sites vary considerably in size, some being as much as 70 feet in diameter, and some of them 3 feet deep in the center after fifty years of cultivation." These may have become greatly spread and otherwise modified as a result of the long-continued plowing of the surface.

Undoubtedly some of the groups of circles just mentioned are the remains of clusters of structures which resembled those of the Mandan, Pawnee, and other Upper Missouri Valley tribes. But it is also known that similar dwellings were erected in the Mississippi Valley, and in 1682 Tonti mentioned the Taensa village, in the present Tensas Parish, Louisiana, where the houses were "plac'd in divers rows . . . being all made of Earth," which evidently referred to structures of wattlework, a mass of earth over a frame of poles. These were necessarily smaller, although they must have resembled the winter houses and town houses of the Chickasaw and Cherokee.

While the great majority of village and camp sites are now indicated by the occurrence of bits of broken pottery and objects of different materials scattered over the surface, which has remained at practically the same level as before it was occupied, nevertheless in some parts of the South, usually near water courses, are elevations which have resulted from long-continued occupancy of a restricted area. Such sites may cover an acre or less, and are formed by the accumulation of shells, charcoal, and general camp refuse which gradually increased to a height of several feet. Such elevations are usually classed as mounds, but it will be readily understood that they were accidental and not the intentional work of man.

CONCLUSION

In reviewing the many references presented on the preceding pages, it is interesting to observe the characteristic features of the habitations and other structures erected by the native tribes who formerly occupied Eastern United States. It is quite remarkable that in the North, where the long winters were most severe, the dwellings were covered with barks or rush mats, which often furnished many openings through which the winds could enter. Very different were the winter houses of the Muskhogean tribes of the South, as well as those of the Cherokee. These great earth-covered structures, the largest buildings erected by any of the eastern tribes, were

termed "hot-houses" by the traders, by reason of the temperature of the interiors. And among many of the southern tribes the dwellings were similarly strong and secure, but in the far South, near the Gulf coast and scattered over the peninsula of Florida, were shelters covered with a thatch of palmetto.

Among many Algonquian tribes each family usually occupied a single wigwam, covered with mats or sheets of bark, either dome-shaped or in the form of an arbor with rounded roof and flat ends. The long communal dwellings were typical of the villages of the Iroquois, while in the South the home of each family often consisted of a group of two, three, or four separate buildings, each of which served a special purpose.

The villages differed in appearance as well as did the separate structures. Some, more particularly among the numerous widely scattered Algonquian tribes, were groups of small wigwams, close to one another and often surrounded by palisades. In other localities where there was less danger of being attacked by their enemies, the habitations were more separated, often with gardens and fields between, and unprotected by palisades. Among the Iroquois or Five Nations a strongly fortified central village, usually protected by a double or triple line of palisades, served in times of danger as the gathering place for the people of the surrounding region, similar in many respects to the various "stations" in Kentucky and other parts of the western country a century and more ago. In the South, among the Creeks, the Cherokee, and others, a town would often extend for several miles along the bank of some stream, or over the lowlands on both sides of the valley, but the center of the settlement would be the town house, usually placed on the summit of an artificial mound, in and around which the people would gather to hold their dances and to enact their different ceremonies.

Sweat houses were probably to have been found in all the villages of the North, but less often in the South, and the quotation from Lawson would probably apply to the people over a wide area, although referring particularly to the eastern Siouan.

A custom which was evidently quite fixed in the South was that of placing a carved wooden figure of a bird above the council house, the temple, or the most important building of the town. This was first witnessed by the Spaniards at Ucita, in the year 1539, when they saw "a fowle made of wood, with gilded eies" above the roof of the temple. Charlevoix in 1721 described the Natchez temple as having at each end "something like a weather-cock of wood, which has a very coarse resemblance of an eagle," while a few years later Adair wrote of the large winter houses of the Chickasaw "where commonly a pole is fixed, that displays on the top the figure of a large carved eagle." And a century ago when Hodgson visited the Lower Creek town of Cussetah he saw "a high pole . . . with a bird at the

top, round which the Indians celebrate their Green-Corn Dance." This he likened to the May poles in England. While this custom was not restricted to the tribes occupying the southern part of the country, nevertheless these scattered references tend to recall the discovery, some years ago, of many remarkable carved wooden figures at Key Marco, on the lower west or Gulf coast of Florida. One of these interesting objects, representing the head of a deer, is shown in figure 12.

Evidently some of the larger structures among the southern villages were constructed with the floor lower than the surrounding surface. Such a custom was unknown in the North, and to what extent it was practiced in the South is not yet determined. The first reference is found in Le Moyne's description of a village on the east coast of Florida in 1564, in which he said, "The chief's dwelling stands in the middle of the town, and is partly underground, in consequence of the sun's heat." Adair mentioned the floor of the Chickasaw town or winter house being below the surrounding area. It was, so he wrote, "often a yard lower than the earth, which serves them as a breast work against an enemy: and a small peeping window is level with the surface of the outside ground." Nearly two centuries elapsed between the writings of Le Moyne and Adair, and the wide territory between the coast of Florida and the home of the Chickasaw was occupied by many tribes.

FIG. 12.—Head of deer carved in wood, discovered at Key Marco, west coast of Florida.

In addition to the more permanent structures within the towns every tribe seems to have had a particular form of temporary shelter, or lodge, easily and quickly raised, to serve as their hunting camps or when on distant journeys. According to several early writers it was possible to identify the tribe to which a party belonged by the form of their shelters.

Such were the peculiar features of the village and the various structures reared by the many tribes found occupying the wide region between the Mississippi and the Atlantic when that great wilderness was first entered by the missionary and explorer, trader and colonist, when narrow trails traversing the vast primeval forests served to connect the widely scattered settlements. Now many of the ancient sites are covered by the principal cities of the Nation, and the courses of the forest trails are followed by its great highways.

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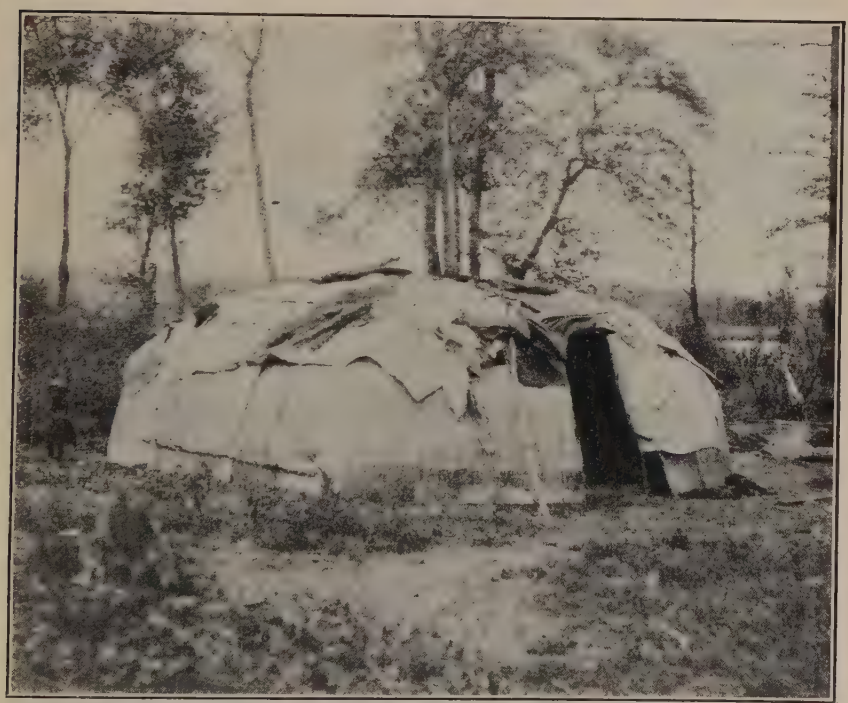
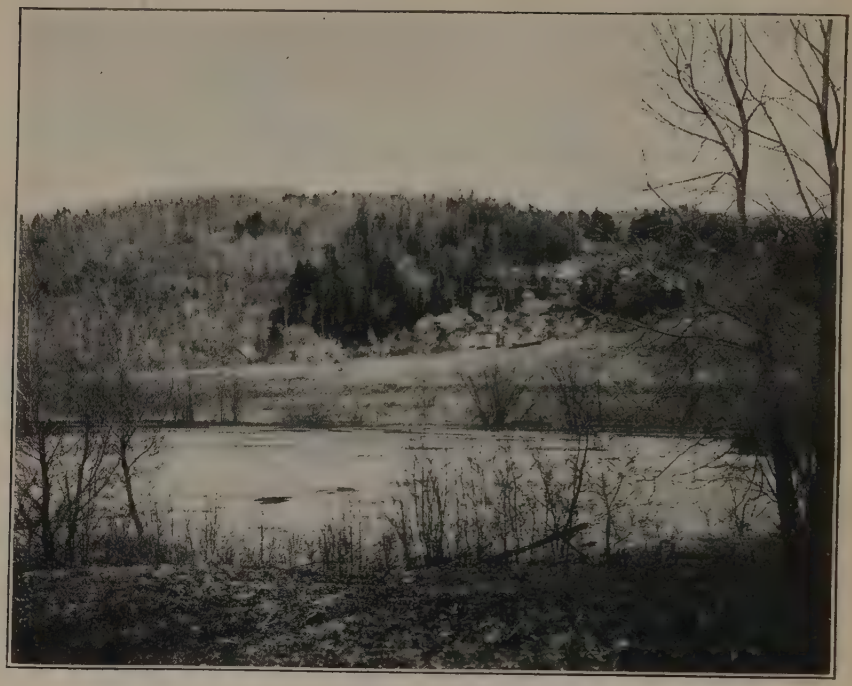
a. BIRCH-BARK COVERED WIGWAM. NORTHERN MINNESOTA, 1899



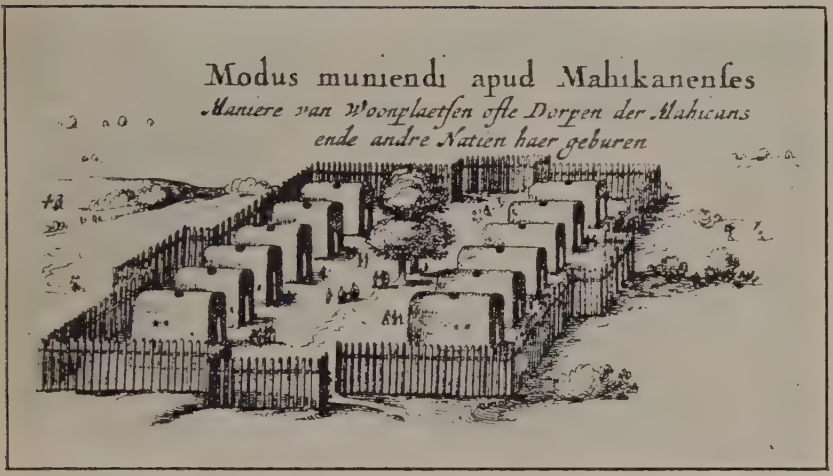
b. WIGWAM COVERED WITH RUSH MATS AND PIECES OF BARK. MILLE LAC, MINN., 1900

OJIBWAY HABITATIONS—TYPICAL ALGONQUIAN STRUCTURES

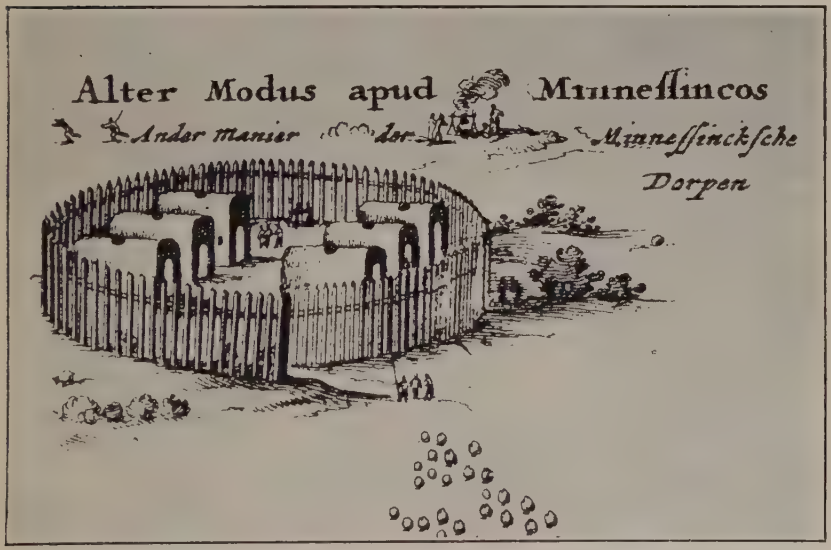


a. THE HOUSATONIC, COVERED WITH ICE

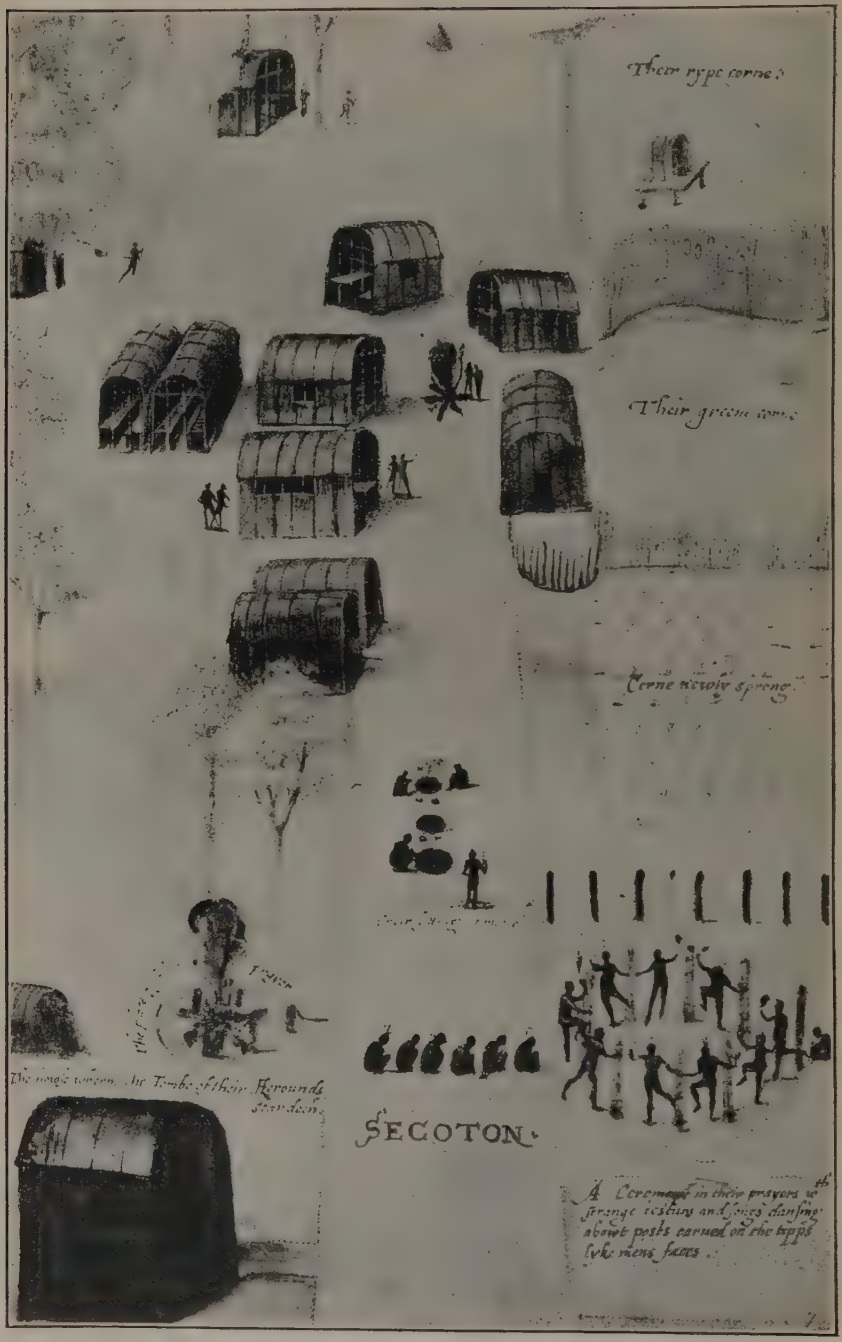
b. LOOKING UP THE VALLEY OF THE HOUSATONIC



a. MAHICAN VILLAGE. FROM MAP OF NOVI BELGII, ABOUT 1651



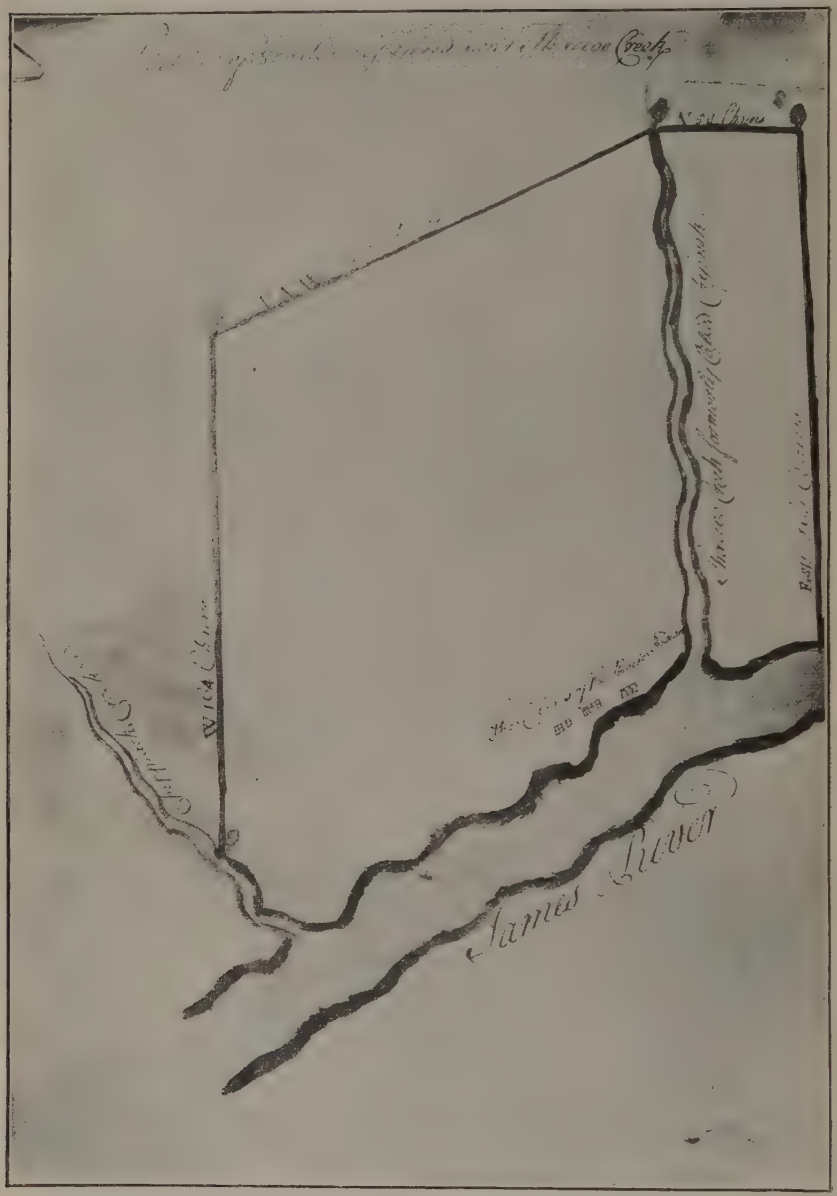
b. MINISINK VILLAGE. FROM MAP OF NOVI BELGII, ABOUT 1651



SECOTAN. BY JOHN WHITE, 1585

a. CEREMONY AT POMEIOC. BY JOHN WHITE, 1585

b. POMEIOC. BY JOHN WHITE, 1585



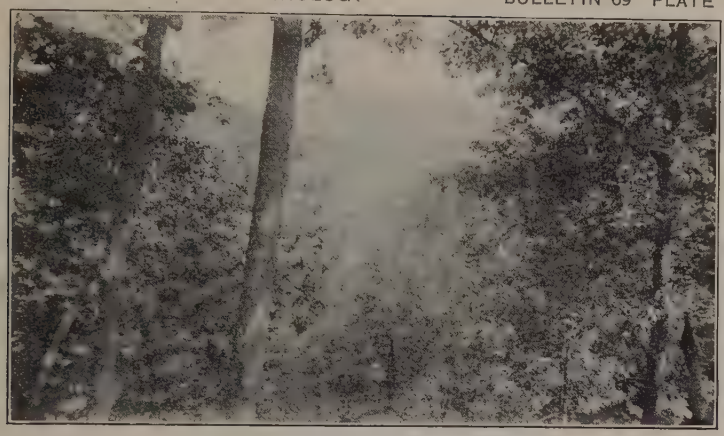
"THE CABINS OF THE POWITE INDIANS," ON THE SITE OF RICHMOND, VA., IN 1663

a. HOCHELAGA. FROM LESCARBOT, 1609

b. ONONDAGA. FROM CHAMPLAIN, 1615

a. "THE INDIAN FORT SASQUESAHANOK," 1720. FROM THE MOLL MAP OF 1720

b. UPPER END OF GREAT ISLAND IN WEST BRANCH OF THE SUSQUEHANNA. SITE OF DELAWARE VILLAGE IN 1768



a. IN THE CHEROKEE MOUNTAINS

b. THE FORESTS OF LONGLEAF PINE

c. THE BAYOUS NEAR THE GULF COAST

CHARACTERISTIC VIEWS IN THE SOUTH

CHOCTAW SETTLEMENT AT BONFOUCA, ST. TAMMANY PARISH, LA.

Painting by Bernard, 1846

EARTH LODGES. A PAWNEE VILLAGE, 1867

THE CREEK HOUSE IN ITS BEST STATE OF NATIVE IMPROVEMENT, IN 1790

a. TEMPORARY DWELLING OF THE SEMINOLE

b. PERMANENT DWELLING OF THE SEMINOLE

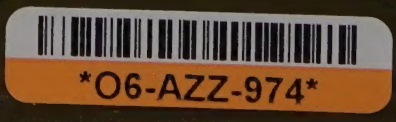
a. LARGE SHELL HEAP AND DWELLING SITE ON SEACOAST NEAR ST. AUGUSTINE, FLA.

b. ON THE TOMOCO RIVER, NEAR ORMOND, VOLUSIA COUNTY, FLA.

a. A "PUBLIC GRANARY" IN FLORIDA. FROM LE MOYNE, 1564

b. A FORTIFIED TOWN IN FLORIDA. FROM LE MOYNE, 1564

A WINNEBAGO CAMP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